This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

E
241
.B8
C53

A 402489

Main

GILBERT COPE PHOTO. PHILA. ENGRAVING CO. THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WIL., DEL.

LAFAYETTE MEMORIAL SHAFT.

Erected September 11, 1895, to mark the place where Lafayette was wounded in the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777.
Height of Shaft, 15 feet. Material, terra cotta.
For inscriptions see pages 17 and 18.

Lafayette is reported to have said to Washington, before the battle of Brandywine, as they reached the spot where this shaft stands: "If there be any land in America worth fighting for it is here." On authority of John Forsythe, school teacher and farmer, residing on the battle field, born June 11, 1754, died March 3, 1840.

LAFAYETTE

AT

BRANDYWINE

CONTAINING THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE MEMORIAL SHAFT ERECTED TO MARK THE PLACE WHERE LAFAYETTE WAS WOUNDED IN THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE,

WITH SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER ON

LAFAYETTE AND THE HISTORIANS,

BY

CHARLTON T. LEWIS.

ALSO EVIDENCE AS TO THE PLACE WHERE LAFAYETTE WAS WOUNDED: ACCOUNTS OF HIS VISITS IN 1780 AND 1825: NAMES OF CONTRIBUTORS: MEMBERS OF THE CHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY: ETC.

PUBLISHED

BY

THE CHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, [illegible], P.

WEST CHESTER, PA.

1896.

PRINTED BY
F. S. HICKMAN, COR. GAY AND CHURCH STS.,
WEST CHESTER, PA.

PREFATORY NOTE.

This little volume contains, in its earlier pages, an account of the exercises at the dedication of the memorial shaft erected to mark the place where Lafayette was wounded in the battle of Brandywine.

The Chester County Historical Society, under whose auspices the exercises were conducted, was fortunate in securing the services of the Hon. Charlton T. Lewis as the orator for the occasion. Mr. Lewis had made a special study of the life of Lafayette. His scholarly research, as embodied in this brilliant oration, is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject, and will do much to give Lafayette's public services the position they deserve on the pages of history. Mr. Lewis has placed the Historical Society and the readers of this volume under further obligations by permitting the publication of his supplemental paper, "Lafayette and the Historians."

Mr. Gilbert Cope, who read the "Historical Address," makes clear, in his concise account of the battle of Brandywine, several points which were before involved in obscurity.

Appendixes have been added in which are collected the evidence as to the place where Lafayette was wounded in the battle of Brandywine; and accounts of Lafayette's subsequent visits to the Brandywine, the last of which in 1825 is within the memory of many still living. The chain of events here given links the present with our earlier heroic past.

The committee in charge of this compilation wishes to make public acknowledgment of its indebtedness to Messrs. Philip P. Sharples, John R. Gilpin, Gilbert Cope and Samuel Marshall, for valuable aid in the preparation of the historical map at the end of this volume.

The thanks of the Historical Society are due to scores of kind friends who contributed in many ways to the success of the exercises at the dedication of the memorial shaft. This page would be far too small to hold their names. Special reference, however,

should be made to the Phœnix Military Band, whose performances added largely to the pleasure of the exercises.

It may be interesting to note that on the same day and on the same ground another memorial was erected to another participant in the battle of Brandywine, Col. Joseph McClellan, whose speech of welcome to Gen. Lafayette in 1825 is given in these pages. Col. McClellan's descendants were also active in the promotion of the Lafayette Memorial, and at the exercises a grandson was one of the vice-presidents and a great-great-grandson placed a wreath on the shaft on behalf of the school children of West Chester.

The great gathering of people on this occasion was all the more gratifying and remarkable when it is remembered that there were few of the ordinary attractions that draw a crowd. It was a spontaneous outpouring of the people, prompted by sentiments of patriotism.

The committee in charge of this publication cannot refrain from quoting, in this connection, the following paragraph from an editorial in "Harper's Weekly" of February 8, 1896, page 123, on "Our Historic Monuments:"

"There is no more hopeful sign for the future of this country than the widening and deepening interest now taken in the history of the United States. There has never been a time when the events connected with the settlement and growth of the colonies, with the struggle of the Revolution, and the critical period which ensued, have been followed as closely and zealously as they are to-day by our young people. The movement is all the more admirable because it is spontaneous, natural and healthy. It represents a spirit which cannot be too highly praised nor over-encouraged. It cannot fail to develop and strengthen those impulses of patriotism from which it had its origin, and to contribute to the stability of those results which it teaches us to appreciate."

While this simple and graceful shaft, made of terra cotta, at small cost, is a silent protest against extravagance and show in monuments, its familiar artistic form (the Roman-Corinthian column) has also an educational value, and might be followed, in its classic simplicity and grace, in the erection of historic monuments all over our land. On probably no other subject does the popular taste need more correction.

TABLE OF CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

MEMORIAL SHAFT, ... Facing title page.
PREFATORY NOTE, ... 3
LAFAYETTE MEMORIAL EXERCISES, ... 7
PORTRAIT OF LAFAYETTE BY PEALE, . . . facing page 7
PORTRAIT OF CAPT. WM. WAYNE, . . . " " 13
VIEW OF EXERCISES OF DEDICATION, . . " " 14
PRAYER BY DR. OWEN P. EACHES, ... 14
PORTRAIT OF DR. OWEN P. EACHES, . . facing page 15
ADDRESS AT UNVEILING OF SHAFT BY M. VOSSION, . . 16
PRESENTATION OF SHAFT FOR DEDICATION BY JAS. MONAGHAN, 16
PORTRAIT OF JAMES MONAGHAN, ... facing page 16
ADDRESS OF DEDICATION BY DR. GEORGE MORRIS PHILIPS, . 18
PORTRAIT OF DR. GEORGE MORRIS PHILIPS, . . facing page 18
HISTORICAL ADDRESS BY GILBERT COPE, ... 19
PORTRAIT OF GILBERT COPE, ... facing page 19
BIRMINGHAM MEETINGHOUSE, . . . " " 22
RECITATION, "THE FIGHT AT THE FORD," BY MISS HARRIET TRAPP, 28
ORATION BY HON. CHARLTON T. LEWIS, ... 30
PORTRAIT OF Mr. LEWIS, ... facing page 30
BENEDICTION BY REV. WM. L. BULL, ... 49
PORTRAIT OF MR. BULL, ... facing page 49
"LAFAYETTE AND THE HISTORIANS," BY CHARLTON T. LEWIS, 50
LETTERS FROM GEN. LAFAYETTE'S RELATIVES, . . 67
EVIDENCE AS TO WHERE LAFAYETTE WAS WOUNDED. 68, 85-6, 87, 88
LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO THE BRANDYWINE, 1780, . . . 74
LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO CHESTER COUNTY, 1825, . . . 75
PORTRAIT OF LAFAYETTE, BY SULLY, 1824, . . facing page 79
EXTRACTS FROM LEVASSEUR'S JOURNAL. 84
OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF CHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 89
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO MEMORIAL SHAFT FUND, . . 91

Microfilm

C. W. PEALE, PINX. PHILA. ENGRAVING CO. THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WIL., DEL.

LAFAYETTE.

From a painting by Chas. Wilson Peale, in 1778, presented by Lafayette to Washington, now in the possession of Gen. G. W. Custis Lee, President of the Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va., through whose courtesy it is here reproduced. Size of canvass 40x49 ins. Gen. Lafayette's hair was red, and not powdered.

A portrait of Lafayette, resembling this one, was introduced into Peale's Washington, painted for the State of Maryland in 1783, and now in the State Library, at Annapolis, Md.

LAFAYETTE MEMORIAL EXERCISES.

THE CHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY was organized April 21, 1893. Its charter contains the following provision: "The purpose for which the corporation is formed is the acquisition and preservation of property and information of historic value or interest to the people of Chester county." At the first meeting of the society after its organization, held May 19th following, it was proposed that, in furtherance of the purpose of its organization, the society should undertake the work of marking all places of historic interest in the county.

With a view of arousing interest in the subject, it was decided, at a special meeting of the society, held in West Chester, July 4th, 1893, to invite the public schools of the county to assist in establishing special exercises in local history on September 11th,—that day to be known as "Brandywine Day," in honor of the revolutionary struggle.

The following reasons were urged in support of the establishment of this anniversary: "(1) Chester county is unusually rich in historical facts and traditions and in biography. (2) A knowledge of local history should precede and accompany a knowledge of general history. (3) Such exercises in our public schools will cultivate a fondness for history and biography, stimulate a proper local pride and foster patriotism. (4) A knowledge of the worthy lives that have been lived here at home will be a strong incentive and example to our children. (5) A study of the social, civil and political development of our country will the better prepare our youth for the responsibilities of citizenship. (6) These exercises will become a source of increasing interest from year to year to the pupils and patrons of the schools. (7) A popular interest in this movement may bring to light valuable papers, facts and incidents."

There was quite a general response from the schools. The Historical Society accordingly prepared a program, with particular reference to the revolutionary struggle, and printed and circulated it among the schools. The next anniversary was arranged to include a Lafayette program as a preparation for the memorial exercises here given.

The following circular was prepared and distributed at the teachers' institute in the fall of 1893:

"HISTORIC LANDMARKS.

"At the first annual meeting of the Chester County Historical Society an effort was made to direct attention to the study of local history. It was thought that this could best be done by recalling and marking the historical struggle in Chester county for American freedom. Interest and enthusiasm once aroused, who can measure the effect? Mr. Brice, author of the 'American Commonwealth,' has pointed out that the Swiss, otherwise an unimaginative people, by familiarity with their own annals, by national songs, by the celebration of anniversaries, by the statues of departed heroes, by the preservation of ancient buildings, by historical and antiquarian museums, have not only become penetrated and pervaded by patriotism, but have learned to carry its spirit into the workings of their institutions. Our efforts may at least give an impetus in this direction. Indeed our plans have already attracted wide attention. But the most encouraging reports come from the public schools in the form of fresh interest in historical studies, as the result of the first annual exercises of 'Brandywine Day.' Since our plans were announced a bill has been introduced into Congress providing for a monument to Lafayette, and a movement has been started among the Junior Order of American Mechanics to erect a monument to Washington on the battlefield of the Brandywine.

"The proposal of the Historical Society is that marking stones be planted on all historic places in the county, to indicate the fields of battle, the position of the forces, and the lines of march extending from one end of our county to the other. The work cannot be pushed too rapidly. Few are now living who can locate the spot where Lafayette was wounded. Each year makes the work more difficult.

"These historic landmarks will awaken interest, refresh memories and suggest patriotic thoughts and aspirations. They will add a new charm to our 'dear valley, home of many friends.' They will help to attract strangers who will find here a 'happy and secure retreat.'

"The first point to be marked should be the struggle on the Brandywine. Known as it is to every school child in the land, and consecrated to two nations by the blood of Lafayette, the exercises befitting the occasion of marking such a spot should be an event of international importance. Distinguished Americans and foreigners, the military, the fire companies and other charitable and patriotic organizations, and the

school children from all over the county, should be invited to take part in the exercises.

"Such a work should be carried out only by popular subscription. There is probably no one living in Chester county—or who has ever lived here—who will not want to contribute something.

"Subscription papers will be sent to every post office, newspaper office and school in the county. Let all who read this notice call promptly at one of these places and sign their names. These papers will be preserved in the Historical Society, and will be read with increasing interest from year to year. Let the subscriptions be large or small, as you feel able or willing to give. Every school child can give something. It is suggested that the school children combine their subscriptions, writing their names without the amount, but giving the total of the school, which should be placed in the teacher's hands. Which will be the banner school in each township, and which township and which school will lead in the whole county? The post of honor in the exercises should be given to such schools. We can count upon the hearty support of the local press. Let the effort be worthy of the cause.

"This proposal of the Historical Society has the endorsement of such prominent educators as Professors Jos. S. Walton, Geo. M. Philips, Addison Jones, and others.

"Those who are willing to canvass for subscriptions may send their names to Edwin A. Barber, West Chester, Pa., Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society, and he will forward subscription papers.

"Reports, with contributions, may be sent to James C. Sellers, West Chester, Pa., who, as treasurer of the Historical Society, may for convenience receive and hold the funds.

"JAMES MONAGHAN,
Chairman Special Committee."

A committee, consisting of James Monaghan, Edwin A. Barber and James C. Sellers, was appointed by the Historical Society to procure a suitable memorial shaft to mark the place where Lafayette was wounded in the battle of Brandywine. The committee, after correspondence and consideration of designs, suggested a Roman-Corinthian column, fifteen feet in height, to be made of terra cotta [frontispiece]. A sum sufficient to pay for this shaft was soon contributed by patriotic citizens and school children. The shaft was ordered, and, after its completion, preparations were made for its dedication.

The following committees were appointed to arrange and conduct the exercises of dedication:

COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS: James Monaghan, chairman; Edwin A. Barber, Gilbert Cope, Gibbons Gray Cornwell, Samuel Marshall and Joseph Thompson.

COMMITTEE ON RECEPTION: Prof. George M. Philips, chairman; Rev. G. Livingston Bishop, Miss Anna J. Davis of Chester Springs, Rev. Joseph S. Evans, H. H. Gilkyson of Phœnixville, Dr. W. D. Hartman, J. Carroll Hayes, Mrs. E. Dallett Hemphill, Mrs. Abner Hoopes, Prof. D. W. Howard, H. Rush Kervey, S. L. Martindale of Oxford, R. Jones Monaghan, Thomas H. Montgomery, Richard G. Park, Charles H. Pennypacker, Alfred Sharpless, Wm. P. Sharpless, C. Wesley Talbot, Joseph Thompson, and Jos. S. Walton of Ercildoun.

COMMITTEE ON ENTERTAINMENT: Mrs. James Monaghan, Mrs. E. Dallett Hemphill, Mrs. S. Emlen Sharples and Miss Mary I. Stille. Aids: Miss Josephine B. Thompson, Mrs. Wm. T. Sharpless, Miss Elizabeth Black, Miss Alice Shields, Miss Annie Finegan, Miss Mary Farrell, Miss Anna Hibberd, Miss Anna Chamberlain, Miss Ussher, Miss Edith Darlington, Miss Bishop, The Misses Morris, The Misses Walter, Miss Alice Hoopes, The Misses Cornwell, Miss Jennie Achelis, Miss Frances Brooks, Miss Frances Thomas, Miss Josie Roberts, The Misses Gheen, Miss Anna Darlington, Miss Fanny Brinton, Miss Frances Darlington, Miss Harriet Trapp, Miss Florence Jacobs, The Misses Marshall, Miss Emily Hoopes. The Homespun Club: Miss Elizabeth Rothrock, Miss Eleanor Moore, Miss Martha Thompson, Mr. Hamilton Bishop, Mr. Gilbert Bishop, Mr. William Montgomery, Mr. Charles Montgomery, Mr. William Baird, Mr. Henry Baird.

COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION: Dr. William T. Sharpless, chairman; John H. Darlington, J. Carroll Hayes, Samuel Marshall and Joseph Thompson, of West Chester; Jacob Martin, of Marshallton; G. Winfield Moore, of Ercildoun, and Harry Wilson, of Gum Tree.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE: James C. Sellers, chairman; J. Newton Huston, secretary; George B. Johnson, Geo. M. Philips, Mrs. E. Dallett Hemphill, Mrs. James Monaghan and Miss Mary I. Stille, of West Chester; Miss Anna J. Davis, of Chester Springs; H. H. Gilkyson, of Phœnixville; Louis A. Holton, of Coatesville; S. L. Martindale, of Oxford; Miss Mary Hopkins Smith, of Parkesburg.

COMMITTEE ON GROUNDS: Joseph Thompson, chairman; Gilbert Cope, G. G. Cornwell, Edwin A. Barber, and Samuel Marshall.

CHIEF MARSHAL AND AIDS: Col. Alfred Rupert, chief marshal. Aids: Col. A. McC. Holding, William Butler, Jr., Maj. L. G. McCauley, Arthur T. Parke, Dr. William T. Sharpless, Robert S. Waddell, T. Roney Williamson, of West Chester; Jos. Hill Brinton, of Philadelphia; Frederic Carey, of Kennett Square; William F. Dowdall, of Avondale; Pusey Harvey, of Unionville; and Harry Sloyer, of Phœnixville.

The place selected for the shaft is a triangular piece of ground on the north side of the public road leading from Dilworthtown to Birmingham meetinghouse, at a point where the properties of Mrs. Mary D. Biddle and Minshall Sharpless join. This is one of the highest points of what is known as "Battle Hill," is

in full view of the meetinghouse, and the hills to the north, over which the British approached, and is a short distance from where Lafayette was wounded.

The eleventh of September, 1895, was in many ways similar to that memorable day in 1777. In both years dry weather had prevailed for some time previous. In both the morning was foggy, but later the mists disappeared and the sun came out clear and hot. The citizens who thronged to these commemorative exercises looked also upon a country and rural scenes strikingly like those upon which their ancestors gazed one hundred and eighteen years before. The great crowd that gathered together, notwithstanding the heat and dust, to celebrate the revolutionary struggle was proof that the patriotic services of their ancestors were not forgotten.

At an early hour the people began to gather from all directions on the historic battlefield. They came in carriages, on horseback and on foot. The militia, consisting of Co. I, the Wayne Fencibles, and Co. D, the Wheatley Cadets, 11th Regiment, National Guards of Pennsylvania, were taken on the electric railway to Sconnelltown, and from there were conveyed in wagons to Birmingham meetinghouse over the route taken by the British army in 1777. Mr. William T. Painter enlisted the interest of a number of farmers to send their wagons to carry the public school children of West Chester who had no other means of conveyance. In this way several hundred children were enabled to witness the exercises who could not otherwise have done so. Many others walked or rode. The whole number of children in attendance must have considerably exceeded a thousand. As the hour for the commencement of the exercises approached, the historic hills seemed alive with people. The attendance was variously estimated at from five to eight thousand.

The exercises of the day began in West Chester with a salute by the firing squad of the Gen. Geo. A. McCall Post, No. 31, Grand Army of the Republic, William H. Turner in command. This salute consisted of thirteen guns, corresponding with the number of the original states and the number of stars on the flag when it waived over the battlefield of Brandywine.

The Wheatley Cadets and the Phœnix Military Band arrived in West Chester on the early train from Phœnixville and were greeted with the salute from the cannon. The band was escorted by members of the reception committee to the court-house, where, from the lawn, they rendered the following selections:

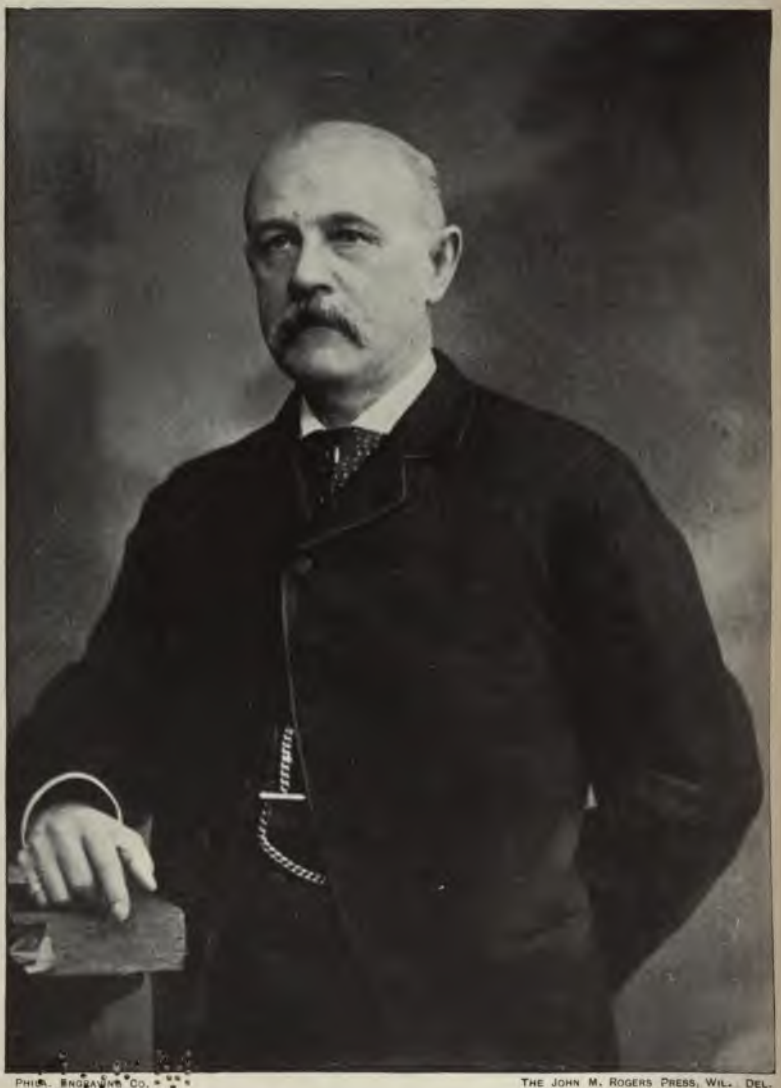
National Medley—Potpourri, . . Heinicke.
Cornet Solo—"My Old Kentucky Home," Masten.
Mr. H. F. Vanderslice.
Overture—"Semiramide," . . . Rossini.
Baritone Solo—"Tramp, Tramp, Tramp," Rollinson.
Mr. C. H. Howell.
Medley—Plantation Songs, . . Conterno.
Clarionet Solo—2d Air and Var., . Thorton.
Mr. Ferd. Saylor.
Selection—"Macbeth," . . . Verdi.
Mazourka Russe—"La Czarine," . . Ganne.
Selection—"Faust," . . . Gounod.

The band was then conveyed to Sconnelltown where a halt was made and patriotic selections performed. From this point an almost continuous procession of people followed the band to Birmingham meetinghouse, where the following selections were rendered:

March—"Tannhaeuser," . . . Wagner.
Selection—"Il Trovatore," . . . Verdi.
Selection—"Goblin's Frolic," . . O'Niel.
Selection—"Robin Hood," . . R. de Koven.
Selection—Rossini's "Stabat Mater," Ar. by Meyrelles.
Selection—"Bohemian Girl," . . . Balfe.
March—"Directorate," . . . Sousa.

Mrs. S. Howard Pierce and Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Darlington, most generously offered their lawns and houses in the neighborhood of the meetinghouse, for the accommodation of the committees of the Historical Society and their guests. A bountiful picnic lunch was spread on the Darlington lawn, immediately adjoining the meetinghouse. The tables were tastefully decorated with the French and American colors, by the Committee on Entertainment and their efficient aids. Among the guests who honored the occasion with their presence were M. Louis Vossion, French Consul at Philadelphia, and Mdm.

Mgij



PHILA. ENGRAVING CO. THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WIL. DEL.

CAPT. WILLIAM WAYNE.

Great-grandson of Gen. Anthony Wayne, one of the commanding officers in the battle of Brandywine.

Rigueur, who accompanied him, and many distinguished sons of Chester county, some of whom had seen Gen. Lafayette on his triumphal visit to Chester county in 1825. Letters of congratulation and regret were received from three of the descendants of Gen. Lafayette (printed in the appendix).

Immediately after lunch the assembled multitude, escorted by Col. Alfred Rupert and his staff of mounted aids, the militia and the Phœnix Military band, repaired to the speaker's stand which had been decorated with the French and American colors. At the side of the stand was the shaft draped with French and American flags. The band took a position on the south side of the stand, immediately in front of the shaft. The militia formed a hollow square, with the shaft in the center. The high embankment on the opposite side of the road was packed with people, in the form of an immense amphitheatre, and around the stand there was "a sea of upturned faces" as far as the voice could reach and beyond.

The meeting was called to order shortly after two o'clock by the president of the Historical Society, Prof. Geo. M. Philips, who announced the following organization:

PRESIDENT: Capt. William Wayne.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

Horace A. Beale,	Robert L. Pyle,	Hon. S. E. Nivin,
Wm. R. Bingham, D. D.,	Paul S. Reeves,	Mrs. S. L. Oberholtzer,
Dan'l G. Brinton, M. D.,	Alfred P. Reid,	Thomas E. Parke, M. D.,
Col. Jos. P. Brinton,	I. N. Rendall, D. D.,	Col. J. A. M. Passmore,
Hon. Wm. Butler,	Evans Rogers,	Samuel Pennock,
Isaac A. Cleaver,	J. T. Rothrock, M. D.,	Gen. G. A. Pennypacker,
R. T. Cornwell,	Julius F. Sachse,	Hon. Samuel Pennypacker,
Richard Darlington,	Alfred Sharpless,	Hon. Thomas J. Philips,
Hon. S. Darlington,	Isaac Sharpless,	John J. Pinkerton,
Hugh DeHaven,	Rev. M. Sheeleigh,	Jacob Price, M. D.,
Samuel R. Downing,	Samuel R. Shipley,	Joseph Price, M. D.,
Thomas J. Edge,	William T. Smedley,	Hon. Wm. P. Snyder,
Rev. Joseph S. Evans,	Charles Huston, M. D.,	Harris E. Sproat,
Hon. Wm. Evans,	William W. Jefferis,	Hon. T. K. Stubbs,
J. R. Everhart, M. D.,	William J. Latta,	Marshall Swayne,
H. H. Gilkyson,	Hon. Wayne MacVeagh,	Mrs. Bayard Taylor,
Jesse C. Green, D. D. S.,	B. Frank March,	J. Preston Thomas,
Col. H. R. Guss,	George L. Maris,	Benj. Thompson, M. D.,
W. D. Hartman, M. D.,	Clara Marshall, M. D.,	Henry C. Townsend,
Wm. M. Hayes,	Wm. P. Marshall,	Joseph B. Townsend,
Willis P. Hazard,	Isaac Massey, M. D.,	Hon. Wm. B. Waddell,
Hon. Jos. Hemphill,	James D. McClellan,	Joseph S. Walton,
Josiah Hoopes,	Thomas H. Montgomery,	Marshall S. Way,
D. W. Howard,	Hon. D. F. Moore,	W. W. Woodruff,
Charles E. Pugh,	J. Cheston Morris, M. D.,	Hon. John Russell Young.

SECRETARIES:

Joseph H. Baldwin,	W. W. Polk,	Addison Jones,
Henry L. Brinton,	J. O. K. Robarts,	Frank L. Kreamer,
E. P. Cloud,	Mark F. Sullivan,	Morris Lloyd,
James B. Fisher,	Nathan P. Walton,	S. Edward Paschall,
George R. Guss,	Edward Baumgard,	A. F. Potts,
Curtis H. Hannum,	W. R. Carney,	Harry L. Skeen,
Wm. J. Kauffman,	Jesse I. Dauman,	W. W. Thomson,
Walter H. Lewis,	F. H. Graves,	Wm. Wayne, Jr.
Wm. G. Matson,	Theodore D. Hadley,	

The exercises were then conducted by Capt. Wayne, in the following order:

1. Paraphrase, "Nearer My God to Thee," (arranged by D. W. Reeves,) by the Phœnix Military Band.
2. Prayer by Owen Philips Eachus, D. D., of Hightstown, N. J.
3. Cornet Duet, "Something to Adore" (Boos), by L. B. and H. F. Vanderslice.
4. Unveiling of the Shaft, by M. Louis Vossion, French Consul at Philadelphia, assisted by Madame Rigueur.
5. Selection, "Marseillaise" (arranged by L. B. Vanderslice), by the Phœnix Military Band.
6. Presentation of Shaft for Dedication by James Monaghan.
7. Dedication of Shaft by Prof. Geo. M. Philips.
8. Hymn, "America" (arranged by L. B. Vanderslice), by the Phœnix Military Band.
9. Placing of Wreath on Shaft by James McClellan Ruth, on behalf of the West Chester Public schools.
10. Historical Address by Gilbert Cope.
11. Reading of T. Buchanan Read's "Fight at the Ford," by Miss Harriet Trapp.
12. Oration by Hon. Charlton T. Lewis, of New York.
13. Benediction by Rev. William L. Bull.

A salute of thirteen guns by the McCall Post firing squad closed the exercises of the day.

The following are the exercises in full:

PRAYER BY DR. OWEN P. EACHUS.

O God of our fathers, Thou art our God. Thou hast ever watched over us and kept us by Thine own power. In the dark and troublous times Thou wast our light and our help. As a Father and an Almighty Friend, Thou didst stand by us, and, in Thy great mercy, didst raise up men to stand by us.

C. S. BRADFORD, PHOTO. PHILA. ENGRAVING CO. THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WILMINGTON, DEL.

VIEW OF THE EXERCISES

Microfilm

THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WIL., DEL.

OWEN PHILIPS EACHES, D. D.

Son of Eber and Hannah (Philips) Eaches, daughter of
Lieut. Josiah Philips of the Revolutionary army,
son of Joseph Philips who emigrated from
Wales to Pennsylvania in 1755.

We desire to thank Thee this day, as a people, that in Thy great power Thou didst beget us as a nation; that in Thy great mercy Thou didst uphold us; that in Thy great wisdom Thou didst lead us as with the pillar of cloud and fire. We pray Thee to grant us this day and always the spirit of a tender remembrance of the ways in which Thou hast led us and of the men whom Thou didst clothe with power and wisdom to lead us as a people.

Help us this day to consecrate ourselves to Thy service, to dedicate ourselves with a holy devotion to the cause of holy living and a holy interest in the preservation of our land. Make Thou our land a place where Thy holy habitation shall be, and where Thy wisdom shall always be ours, and where Thy power shall be about us for our protection. Make us and keep us a people after Thine own heart. Help us to make our land a holy land wherein righteousness, and justice, and brotherly love, and love for all good things shall dwell. May the God of peace and holiness abide with us and in us.

O God bless us, our land, our homes, our institutions, our laws. Help us to reverence Thee, to love Thee, to fear Thee with a holy fear, to keep Thy laws, to write them on the tablets of our hearts, to write them in our statutes. Greatly and richly bless the oncoming men and women that they may live worthy of their great privileges.

We thank Thee for this our great land, with its rich memories of the past and its bright hopes for the days to come. May God grant to us, through Jesus Christ, that to us may be ministered at last an entrance into a better country, even an heavenly.

Now unto Him that is able to guard you from stumbling and to set you before the presence of His glory without blemish with exceeding joy, to the only God our Savior, through Jesus Christ our Lord, be glory, majesty, dominion and power, before all time, and now, and forevermore. Amen.

ADDRESS AT UNVEILING OF MEMORIAL SHAFT

BY M. LOUIS VOSSION.

Ladies and Gentlemen of Chester County: It is a great honor for me to unveil this memorial shaft to my distinguished countryman, General Marquis de Lafayette. The tale of the friendly relations between France and the struggling North American colonies has been told very often, to be sure, but it is ever interesting. General Lafayette knew neither your country nor your people; he did not speak English; but he came all the same to join his efforts to yours in your struggle for liberty. How well he succeeded is known by all. My only wish is that in the future such grand mutual souvenirs shall never be forgotten in our two great countries. I thank you in the name of France for the honor granted to General Lafayette in the erection of this memorial, which I have been so kindly invited to unveil by the Chester County Historical Society.

PRESENTATION OF SHAFT FOR DEDICATION

BY JAMES MONAGHAN.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: As chairman of the committee to procure this memorial shaft, it is my duty to report the result of our labors.

The Chester County Historical Society was organized in the spring of 1893. Its object, as expressed in its charter, is "the acquisition and preservation of property and information of historic value or interest to the people of Chester County." At a special meeting of the society, held on the 4th of July of the same year, it was suggested that the anniversary of the struggle on the Brandywine should be set apart in the schools of the county as "Brandywine Day" and be observed by patriotic exercises. It was also resolved that the places of historic interest in Chester county should be marked by appropriate memorials. Paoli had been remembered; Valley Forge was in the care of the state; the far famed Brandywine, consecrated to two nations by the blood of Lafayette, remained unmarked. It was proposed not only to mark this field of battle and the position of the contending forces, but the lines of march, so that they may be traced on the roads from one end of the county to

F. GUTEKUNST, PHOTO. PHILA. ENGRAVING CO. THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WIL., DEL.

JAMES MONAGHAN, M. A.

Son of J. J. and Rebecca (Murdagh) Monaghan, daughter of Robert Murdagh, son of Joseph Murdagh who was a Revolutionary soldier.

Mrou

the other. The work was undertaken with enthusiasm by the schools, and every school house in the county rang with songs and patriotic sentiments. The money for the present shaft was soon raised by the school children and citizens. We are proud to record that many of the sums were given, like the widow's mite, from a full heart, although in penny contributions. It should be stated that the names of all contributors to this shaft and to the continuation of the work will be preserved in the archives of the Historical Society, in a memorial volume, which will be a roll of honor for future generations. We hope to record therein all the names of the loyal sons and daughters of Chester county.

This is no monument to Lafayette. He needs no imposing column. He has a proud and living monument in the millions of free people in our own loved land, and in that other wonderful sister republic, with the presence of whose official representative we are honored to-day.

Nor is this shaft meant to glorify the spirit of war. The sentiment which we wish to perpetuate is inscribed on this shaft, from the lips of Lafayette himself:

> "May the blood spilled by thousands, with equal merit in the cause, of independence and freedom, be to ensuing generations an enternal pledge of unalloyed Republicanism, Federal Union, Public Prosperity and Domestic Happiness."—Lafayette's Toast, at West Chester, July 26, 1825.

The remaining inscriptions are as follows:

(Front.)
On the Rising Ground
A Short Distance South of This Spot
LAFAYETTE
Was Wounded at the Battle of Brandywine,
September, 11th, 1777.

(Right Side.)
Erected
By the Citizens and School Children
Of Chester County, Pa.,
Under the Auspices of the
Chester County Historical Society,
September 11th, 1895.

(Back.)

"The honor of having mingled my blood with that of many other American soldiers, on the heights of the Brandywine, has been to me a source of pride and delight."—Extract from Lafayette's speech at West Chester, July 26, 1825.

The Roman-Corinthian column was selected by the committee as an appropriate memorial shaft, used as it has been for such purposes from the earliest classic days of Greece and Rome, and being as it is the most perfect form of the plastic art. It will stand as a landmark on the summit of this beautiful hill. It is bound with a laurel wreath and with a band of thirteen stars representing the thirteen struggling colonies. It is surmounted by a sphere, symbol of immortality, of the perfect life, of that Catholic spirit which recognizes the universal brotherhood of man. Is not this a fitting tribute to the broad-minded patriot Lafayette?

After these exercises are over this shaft will be protected by an iron railing, ornamented with the fleur de lis, the national flower of France.

It is fitting that I should, on this occasion, acknowledge our indebtedness to the makers of this memorial column, Messrs. Stephens & Co., of Philadelphia, for their uniform courtesy and untiring efforts to make their work a credit to themselves and worthy of the purpose for which it is intended.

And now, on behalf of the committee appointed to procure this memorial shaft, I place it in your hands for purposes of dedication.

DEDICATION OF MEMORIAL SHAFT

BY PROF. GEORGE M. PHILIPS.

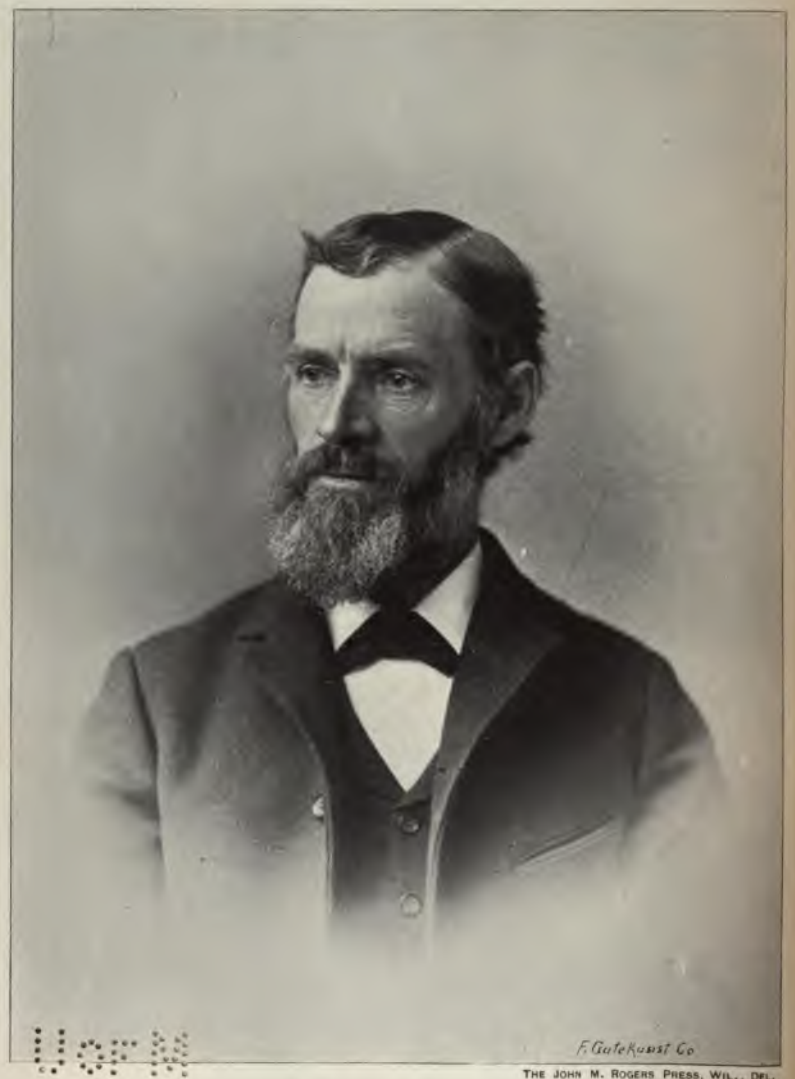
Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: On behalf of the Chester County Historical Society, I accept this memorial. It is unpretentious, but it commemorates an event of highest importance. For here, one hundred and eighteen years ago, in the blood of this gallant French youth, was cemented the alliance between France and the United States, which made our freedom and our nationality a possibility. Nor did its influence end with the accomplishment of American independence at

THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WIL., DEL.

GEORGE MORRIS PHILIPS, Ph. D.

Son of John M. Philips, son of George Philips, son of John Philips, a Revolutionary soldier, son of Joseph Philips who emigrated from Wales to Pennsylvania in 1755.

Non-Circulating



THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WIL., DEL.

GILBERT COPE.

Son of Joseph Cope, son of Joseph Cope, son of John Cope,
son of Oliver Cope, who emigrated from Avebury,
Wiltshire, England in 1682 or 3.

Yorktown, for never since that day has the march of the world towards universal freedom halted.

We have erected this memorial to this "hero of two continents," whose sympathy and service were not confined to the cause of humanity in his own country, great and distinguished as they were there, but who risked all that the generosity of fortune and honor could give to aid the well nigh hopeless cause of a few struggling colonies in the wilds of a new world. And in erecting this shaft to the memory of Lafayette, we dedicate it as well to the cause of human freedom. The echoes of war have long since died away from these hills, never we hope to return. But the greatest victories of humanity are those of peace, and many such remain to be won. We have erected this memorial in the hope that it may inspire many to a nobler and more unselfish patriotism, to a willingness to die for their country as their forefathers died here, and to the still higher service of living for that country an unselfish, noble and public-spirited life.

And now, my fellow-citizens, we this day dedicate this memorial to the memory of America's noblest friend, General Lafayette, and to the cause of freedom and humanity in America and in the world.

HISTORICAL ADDRESS

BY GILBERT COPE.

Amidst the shifting scenes of the Revolution it fell to the lot of this fair landscape to be the arena of war, horrible war! Time will not suffice to enter upon an exhaustive narrative of the battle of Brandywine (which, by the way, one of our enterprising citizens has recently undertaken to re-christen the battle of Birmingham), and I will confine my remarks principally to those events which occurred in this immediate vicinity.

The British forces having occupied Boston and New York city, attempted, toward the close of the year 1776, to reach Philadelphia by crossing New Jersey to the Delaware, at Trenton, but by a series of bold and brilliant maneuvers, Washington drove them back toward New York, and the armies soon after went into winter quarters.

In the spring of 1777 each party seemed to await the movements of the other, but at length, on the last day of June, the British moved over to Staten Island; a week later embarked on a fleet of vessels, and on the 23d of July sailed for the Chesapeake Bay. Their destination was kept a secret and the American forces were left in a state of painful uncertainty until news came that the fleet had been seen on the 8th of August to the south of Delaware Bay. On the 22d they were known to have arrived in the Chesapeake, and on the 25th they landed in the Elk River about six miles below Elkton, Md.

On the 24th of August, Washington had marched the American army through Philadelphia on the way to Wilmington, near which the main body remained till the 5th of September, when they moved forward to Newport and occupied a position between that place and Red Clay Creek. Previous to this General Maxwell, with some light troops, had advanced to Iron Hill, near the Maryland line, where they had a sharp skirmish with some British troops under Cornwallis, who drove him back with a loss of forty killed and wounded.

The enemy spread themselves over the country and advanced leisurely toward Philadelphia. They numbered about 18,000 men, under General Howe as commander-in-chief. They were divided into two columns, the one under Lord Cornwallis and the other under General Knyphausen. To oppose these Washington had perhaps 12,000, of whom about 3,000 were untried militia, hastily collected from the neighboring counties.

Becoming convinced from the movements of the enemy that they designed to pass him in the northward, he withdrew to the east side of the Brandywine at Chadds' Ford, on the night of the 8th of September. The next day Knyphausen's division entered Chester county and encamped at New Garden and Kennett Square, while that of Cornwallis remained a short distance below Hockessin meetinghouse. On the 10th they united at Kennett Square, and Knyphausen advanced about three miles toward Chadds' Ford, and encamped near the present Longwood meetinghouse.

Early in the morning of the 11th information was received at Chadds' Ford that the whole British army was in motion and

the troops were at once prepared to receive them. The militia under General Armstrong guarded the two fords below. General Sullivan had been posted the evening before at Brinton's Ford. Writing on October 25th following, he says: "I was ordered to take post there with my main body, to send a guard to the next ford, about a mile and a-half above me; another to Jones' Ford, [Lenape], one and a-half miles still higher up, and another to Buffenton's ford [forks of the creek], a mile above that, immediately upon my arrival. I detached the Delaware Regiment to the first ford, one battalion of Hazen's to Jones' and another to Buffenton's, when I received those orders, as I ever had been of the opinion that the enemy would endeavor to turn our right. I inquired of His Excellency whether there were no fords still higher up, to which the person who was then giving him information of the country replied, there are none within twelve miles; the roads leading to, and from which, are almost inaccessible.

Washington, with Wayne, Greene, Stirling and Stephen, remained at Chadds' Ford, where a breastwork had been thrown up and Proctor's Artillery placed to dispute the passage of the stream. Maxwell, with his light troops, was on the west side of the creek to receive the first fire, and perhaps about ten o'clock was driven across the stream after sharp skirmishing. Considerable firing occurred between the opposing forces yet the enemy seemed slow to force a passage, for which the reason was not at first apparent.

The day was warm and the morning foggy, rendering the movements of the troops less noticeable. General Howe, with about 7,000 men under Cornwallis, instead of advancing toward Chadds' Ford, had turned northward from a point a mile east of Kennett Square, passing just west of Red Lion Tavern, and between the residences of William Hickman and George Baker, in Pocopson, when by a road since vacated, they crossed the western branch of the Brandywine at Trimble's Ford. Thence they turned eastward, over the hills, passing what is known as Fairview School House, in East Bradford, to Jefferis Ford on the eastern branch, and from this point southward by way of Sconnelltown, Strode's mill and Osborne's hill to Birmingham

Meeting. Starting about three hours earlier than Knyphausen they hoped to make the circuit and fall upon the rear of the Americans with a crushing blow; but the distance must have proved greater than expected, and they did not reach Sconnelltown till after 1 o'clock, where they rested for more than an hour. The most graphic description of any of the events of the day will be found in the narrative of Joseph Townsend, a witness to the movements of Cornwallis' army from Jefferis' Ford to Birmingham.

Meanwhile a report had reached Washington that a large portion of the British forces had been seen moving northward, and he ordered Sullivan to cross the stream and attack those in front, hoping to defeat them before the arrival of the others. Just then a contradictory statement was brought by a Major Spear, or Spicer, as variously written, who claimed to have passed over the road they must have taken without seeing any signs of the enemy. At length Thomas Cheyney, of Thornbury township, came galloping into the presence of Washington, his horse in a lather of foam, and asserted that he had seen and been fired at by the British troops. At first incredulous, Washington was soon convinced of the truth of the statement, but it was now too late to carry out the plan of attacking Knyphausen in his own position.

In point of time it is believed that the first report of Howe's circuitous march was received by Washington soon after eleven. His order to Sullivan to cross was not later than half-past. By twelve the contradictory reports of Major Spear and Sergeant Tucker were forwarded. It was after two when the fact became known to Washington that the British army was actually coming down the left bank of the Brandywine. Then it was determined that the divisions of Sullivan, Sterling and Stephen, should advance to meet them with orders to fight them wherever found. According to some authorities Sterling and Stephen were ordered to proceed to Birmingham Meeting before the facts were fully known, yet this is doubtful, although by going a more direct route they probably were somewhat earlier on the ground than Sullivan.

The latter says: "At half-past two I received orders to march

C. S. BRADFORD, PHOTO

PHILA. ENGRAVING CO.

THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, W. DEL.

BIRMINGHAM MEETINGHOUSE

with my division, to join with, and take command of that and two others to oppose the enemy, who were coming down on the right flank of our army. I neither knew where the enemy were, nor what route the other two divisions were to take, and of course could not determine where I should form a junction with them. I began my march in a few minutes after I received my orders, and had not marched a mile when I met Colonel Hazen and his regiment, which had been stationed at a ford three miles above, who informed me that the enemy were close upon his heels, and that I might depend that the main part of the British army were there, although I knew the report sent to headquarters made them but two brigades. As I knew Colonel Hazen to be an old officer and a good judge of numbers, I gave credence to his report in preference to the intelligence before received. While I was conversing with Colonel Hazen, and our troops still upon the march, the enemy headed us in the road about forty rods from our advanced guard. I then found it necessary to turn off to the right to form, and so got nearer to the other two divisions, which I at that moment discovered drawn up on an eminence, both in the rear and to the right of the place I then was at. I ordered Colonel Hazen's regiment to pass a hollow way, file off to the right, and face, to cover the artillery. The enemy, seeing this, did not press on, but gave me time to form my division on an advantageous height in a line with the other divisions, but almost half a mile to the left. I then rode on to consult the other general officers, who, upon receiving information that the enemy were endeavoring to outflank us on the right, were unanimously of opinion that my division should be brought on to join the others, and that the whole should incline further to the right to prevent our being outflanked; but while my division was marching on, and before it was possible for them to form to advantage, the enemy pressed on with rapidity and attacked them, which threw them into some kind of confusion. I had taken post myself in the centre, with the artillery, and ordered it to play briskly to stop the progress of the enemy and to give the broken troops time to rally and form in the rear of where I was with the artillery. I sent off four aides-de-camp for this purpose and went myself, but all

in vain. No sooner did I form one party, but that which I had before formed ran off, and even at times when I, though on horseback and in front of them, apprehended no danger. I then left them to be rallied by their own officers and my aides-de-camp. I repaired to the hill where our artillery was, which by this time began to feel the effects of the enemy's fire.

"This hill commanded both the right and left of our line, and, if carried by the enemy, I knew would instantly bring on a total rout and make a retreat very difficult. I therefore determined to hold it as long as possible, to give Lord Stirling's and General Stephen's divisions, which yet stood firm, as much assistance from the artillery as possible, and to give Colonel Hazen's, Dayton's and Ogden's regiments, which still stood firm on our left, the same advantage, and to cover the broken troops of my division, and to give them an opportunity to rally and come to our assistance, which some of them did, and others could not by their officers be brought to do anything but fly. The enemy soon began to bend their principal force against the hill, and the fire was close and heavy for a long time, and soon became general. Lord Stirling and General Conway, with their aides-de-camp, were with me on the hill, and exerted themselves beyond description to keep up the troops. Five times did the enemy drive our troops from the hill, and as often was it regained, and the summit often disputed almost muzzle to muzzle. . . . .

"The general fire of the line lasted an hour and forty minutes, fifty-one minutes of which the hill was disputed almost muzzle to muzzle, in such a manner that General Conway, who has seen much service, says he never saw so close and severe a fire. On the right, where General Stephen was, it was long and severe, and on the left considerable. When we found the right and left oppressed by numbers and giving way on all quarters, we were obliged to abandon the hill we had so long contended for, but not till we had almost covered the ground between that and Birmingham meetinghouse with the dead bodies of the enemy." *

* Amory's Life of Sullivan, p. 49.

Respecting the divisions of Stirling and Stephen, another account * states that they formed on an advantageous piece of ground, chiefly within what is now the lawn of Mrs. Biddle, both flanks being covered with a thick wood. Stirling's detachment advanced to within a short distance of the meetinghouse, where he awaited the approach of the enemy. After waiting some time their near approach was announced, when Stirling endeavored to secure the highest ground in the immediate vicinity of the meetinghouse, but when he reached that point the British had so nearly gained it that he could not have formed before they would have been upon him. In this dilemma he threw a small force into the graveyard, which was inclosed with a stone wall, for the purpose of giving the enemy employment until he could form his men on rising ground in the rear. This body, after having made an obstinate resistance, rejoined the main division.

To my view, it appears that Sullivan, marching from Brinton's Ford, arrived at and was joined by Hazen on what is known as the Street Road, a short distance west of the cross roads north of the meetinghouse. Hazen had probably come from Lenape by way of the old road nearly parallel with the Sconnelltown road, and his arrival was nearly coincident with that of the British. Sullivan turned into the field south of the Street Road and formed just north of the present Norris mansion, sending Hazen around to the west and south of this elevation, which would take his command out of view of the enemy until the latter had advanced nearly to the meetinghouse. It does not appear to me that there was any firing from Sullivan's forces while they were in this first position, and the forming there was probably that which was watched by General Howe and staff from Osborne's Hill. The first firing was doubtless from Stirling's forces, and before Sullivan had reached his second position the enemy had advanced up the hill and opened fire upon him.

Assured by the growing din of battle that a violent conflict was raging on this height, Washington felt that his presence

* J. Smith Futhey, History of Chester County, p. 71.

was needed here. Leaving Wayne to keep Knyphausen in check, and ordering Greene to bring his division up as quickly as possible, he pressed into his service, as guide, one Joseph Brown of that locality, mounted on the horse of one of his aids, and galloped up from Chadds' Ford by the shortest route. Brown used to relate that his horse took all the fences as he came to them, followed closely by that of Washington, and the words, "Push on, old man, push on," were continually ringing in his ears.

Washington reached Sullivan as the forces of the latter were beginning to break, and endeavored in vain to rally them. Greene's division, composed of the brigades of Weedon and Muhlenberg, is said to have marched up from Chadds' Ford in forty-five minutes. When they reached the road over which the fugitives were passing toward Dilworthtown, just beyond "Sandy Hollow," Weedon's brigade was halted in a plowed field on the Bennett farm, while that of Muhlenberg, with Greene at its head, advanced to meet the enemy and check pursuit. They were gradually forced back, however, beyond Weedon's position, where some of the hottest firing of the day took place. Lieutenant James McMichael, of Walter Stewart's regiment, thus records in his diary: "We took the front and attacked the enemy at 5.30 P. M., and being engaged with their grand army, we at first were obliged to retreat a few yards and formed in an open field, when we fought without giving way on either side until dark." "This day, for a severe and successive engagement, exceeded all I ever saw. Our regiment fought at one stand about an hour, under incessant fire, and yet the loss was less than at Long Island; neither were we so near each other as at Princeton, our common distance being about 50 yards."

Being forced to give way to a superior force, the Americans retreated to Chester. General Wayne, at Chadds' Ford, offered a determined opposition to the advance of Knyphausen, but, learning that the right wing of the army was in retreat, he, too, withdrew and joined the others at Chester.

And now as to the spot where Lafayette was wounded: Some of our local historians, under the mistaken impression that he remained with Washington, believe that he was not in the ear-

lier part of the battle, and therefore must have been wounded in Bennett's field. His Memoirs show, however, that when he found that Sullivan was likely to meet the first brunt of battle, he obtained permission from Washington to attach himself to the staff of that officer. He, therefore, was under fire from the first, and while it is not clear from his Memoirs just when he was wounded, it is rather to be inferred that it was before Sullivan's division was forced from this height, after which it does not appear that they made a stand. I am aware that this will be disputed by some, and even the late Dr. Wm. Darlington may be quoted on their side. He says that Captain Joseph McClellan, with his company, occupied the extreme left of the line here and was just in front of the road coming from the meeting-house where it makes the angle near the western part of Mrs. Biddle's lawn. And further "Captain McClellan stated that in his retreat across Bennett's field, immediately south of Wistar's woods—a field strewn with musket balls for many years after the war—he saw General Lafayette in that field on horse-back, and was very confident the wound of the young Frenchman was there received very soon afterward, probably while dismounted and aiding to rally the retreating men." It is evident that Captain McClellan did not know when or where Lafayette was wounded, and Dr. Darlington does not appear to have known that the latter was with Sullivan all the afternoon.

The late Abraham Darlington, who lived at the foot of this slope, to the northward, presented Lafayette with some musket balls from the battlefield in 1825, and was told by the General that it was near this spot, and in sight of the meetinghouse, that he was wounded.*

My friend, General W. W. H. Davis, of Doylestown, claims that his grandfather assisted in carrying Lafayette off the field of battle, and my friend William Logan, of West Chester during the summer, makes the same claim for his grandfather. I have it also from another source that two brothers by the name of Dunwoody, from Honeybrook, performed the same gallant service. As a matter of fact the wound did not at once disable

---

*For evidence pro and con, see Appendix B.

Lafayette from efforts to rally the disordered ranks, but at length, from loss of blood, he, as stated in his Memoirs, was indebted to his aide for assistance in remounting his horse.

Some erroneous ideas have resulted from the false location of "Wistar's Woods" on an old map of the battlefield. It lay on the north side of the road to Dilworthtown and beyond "Sandy Hollow."

This is but a brief review of the events of the day, and many interesting facts are necessarily omitted for want of time. Doubtless some future student of local history will be able to harmonize apparent contradictions and present a more intelligible account of the momentous occurrences of the day.

THE FIGHT AT THE FORD.

FROM T. BUCHANAN READ'S "WAGONER OF THE ALLEGHENIES;"
READ BY MISS HARRIET TRAPP.

Wrapt in a friendly cloud of mist,
  At morn the wagoner led us out,
  And, following our bold leader's shout,
  We put the pickets oft to rout,
Oft trampling down a scouting list,
  And oft upon the foeman's flanks
  We dealt the blow their startled ranks
Scarce knew where to resist.

For hours we sailed from rear to front,
  And down their side, from front to rear:
Death and confusion paid the brunt
  Wherever we came near.
Anon was heard the opening roar
Which called us to the bristling shore;
And now the fearful scene was won
Where deadly gun replied to gun,
And pistol answered pistol flash,
And then the fiery, sudden dash
  Of hand to hand, and sword to sword,
While in the stream, with plunge and splash,
  Though thrice our number on us poured,
We dealt the thick foe crash for crash,
  And strove to hold the ford.

* * * * * * * *

The hour was loud, but louder still
  Anon the rage of battle roared
Its wild and murderous will;
  From Jefferis down to Wistar's Ford,
  From Jones to Chadds the cannon poured,
While thundered Osborne Hill.
Oh, ne'er before fled holy calm
  From out its sainted house of prayer
  So frighted through the trembling air
As from that shrine of Birmingham!

Oft through the opening cloud we scanned
The shouting leaders, sword in hand,
  Directing the tumultuous scene;
There galloped Maxwell, gallant Bland
  The poet warrior, while between,
Ringing o'er all his loud command,
  Dashed the intrepid Greene.

Here Sullivan in fury trooped,
There Weedon like an eagle swooped,
With Muhlenberg,—where they were grouped
  The invader dearly earned his gains,—
And (where the mad should only be
The fiercest champion of the free)
  The loudest trumpet call was Wayne's;
While in a gale of battle glee,
  With rapid sword and pistol dealing
  The blows which set the foemen reeling,
Sped "light-horse Harry Lee."
And once or twice our eye descried,
Mid clouds a moment blown aside,
  With lifted hand that well might wield
  The thunders of the storming field,
The JOVE of battle ride!
And every eye new courage won
Which gazed that hour on Washington.

* * * * * * * *

For hours the scene was still the same,—
A sleet of lead mid sheets of flame;
The hot hail round us hissed and roared,
Through clouds of seething sulphur poured,
  Until—we knew not how or why—
The day was lost! Our saddened view
Between the smoke-wreaths' opening wrack
Beheld the patriots falling back:

The hour of victory had gone by!
Still fighting, we our line withdrew
Scorning to yield or fly.

And now we gained a sheltering wood,
Where, (oh, it was a sight to whet
The sword of vengeance keener yet!)
Pale with the streaming loss of blood,
By hireling foemen still beset,
Beside his foaming charger stood
The wounded, gallant Lafayette.

We swept between, with scathing blow,
Until his bleeding wound was bound:
Each drop of his the cloven foe
Paid double to the crimson ground,
Until from off that field forlorn
The noblest son of France was borne.

THE HERO OF TWO WORLDS.

LAFAYETTE BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL OF HISTORY.

ORATION BY CHARLTON T. LEWIS.

Although more than sixty years have passed since the great heart of Lafayette ceased to throb for freedom, the world cannot yet be said to have passed final judgment on his life and manhood. The people of the United States know well one side of his nature, one brief period of his long career. To us he is the valiant youth, born to wealth and a great title, surrounded from childhood by the fascinations of fashionable idleness in the most brilliant society of Europe, who yet, at the age of nineteen, consecrated his life and fortune to the cause which he deemed that of mankind, and crossed the seas as the knight-errant of liberty. We remember how quickly he won the love and trust of the greatest of men. Washington, the ascendancy of whose manhood among his fellows was such that he can scarcely be said to have had more than two intimate friends, is now called by sixty millions of freemen the father of his country, but he, to his last days, delighted to call Lafayette his son. Lafayett's valor

STERRY, ALBANY, N. Y., PHOTO. PHILA. ENGRAVING CO. THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WILM'T DEL.

CHARLTON T. LEWIS, Ph. D.

Son of Joseph J. Lewis, son of Enoch Lewis, son of Evan Lewis, son of John Lewis, son of Henry Lewis, son of Henry Lewis, son of Evan Lewis who emigrated from Wales to Pennsylvania in 1682.

U of M

at Brandywine, his skill at Gloucester, his fortitude at Valley Forge, his loyalty to Washington in refusing an independent and co-ordinate command against Canada are remembered here. We recall with gratitude, too, the weight of his example and influence in determining the alliance of France, without which we might have been born colonists and subjects of Great Britain. It is part of our own history, that throughout the long and weary struggle he bated no jot of heart or hope, but bore himself as the chevalier without fear and without reproach, until the crowning campaign in Virginia, where the veteran Cornwallis, while his British masters were yet reading Clinton's boast that Lafayette could not escape him, was eluded, out-generalled and overwhelmed, and gave up his sword and his army at Yorktown. Our historians tell us, too, how the young man, now ripened to one of the world's leaders in action, returned to France, contributed largely to hasten and to shape the memorable treaty of 1783, and how his letter from Cadiz was the first announcement to Washington and to Congress of peace, and of the recognized existence, as one among the nations, of the United States of America.*

This is in outline his career as described in the history of our own dear land, and it is enough to give the name of Lafayette a high place on the roll of our nation's worthies.† There is no other life of his time so moved by the spirit of chivalry, so filled with details of romance. The lofty class pride of the old French noblesse, the generous enthusiasm for every worthy cause, veiled under a self-restraint which never permits hurry or expresses passion; the elaborate courtesy which at once breathes respect for others and commands it from all; the simple directness of speech and action, and the perfect suppression of disturbing personal motives in the pursuit of worthy ends, these characteristics excite an interest in the man, which is heightened by his achievements and his sufferings, by

* Letter to Washington, dated Cadiz, Feb. 5, 1783: Mémoires, II, pp. 56-60.

† The most complete account of Lafayette's part in the War of Independence is the work of Charlemagne Tower, "Lafayette in the American Revolution," two vols., New York, 1894.

the amazing boldness of his plans, and the sharp and violent alternations of seemingly hopeless failure and of seemingly miraculous success in his great enterprises. No more perfect model of the highest, truest bravery has ever lived, whether on the battle field, or under the severer tests of social enmities, party struggles, or a bed of pain. Thus the historic facts of Lafayette's life have in some measure taken the place in our youthful minds, which the poetic legends of heroes fill among races less rich in truth; and the fierce light of critical inquiry which in our generation has been thrown upon every detail of his period has but brought into clearer and bolder relief his noble features of mind and heart.

When, almost half a century after the war, Lafayette, as the guest of the nation, revisited its battle fields, it was the services rendered in his youth to the cause of independence that were remembered, and that prompted the hearts of a great people to tender him a reception unparalleled for enthusiasm and moral magnificence. And through the seventy years which have since elapsed, the popular mind has honored him as the paladin of our revolution, and above all as the hero of Brandywine. This is well, for the work he did was essential to the existence of the Union, and deserves its fullest gratitude; it was a splendid achievement of valor guided by wisdom and earned all his fame.

But when we speak of Lafayette and his place in history, we must rise above the boundary lines of nations and of a continent, and survey the world. Remember that when he first fought for us here he was an infant in law, that when he drew his sword for the last time in America he was but twenty-four; and that he lived for fifty-three years more one of the most conspicuous figures in the stormiest scenes of modern history. How did the man fulfill the promise of the youth?

If you consult the most popular historians of that epoch, or even those of authority, you will be bewildered by their answers. All agree that the after-life of Lafayette was like his American career in its wonderful variety, its startling and romantic contrasts, its unrivalled fullness of interest. That he was always fearless, disinterested, with a passion for freedom, yet with a deep love of public order; that he was always a model of cour-

tesy, truth and honor; that his home life was ideal in its purity and beauty, and that in great emergencies he rendered his country memorable services, is hardly denied.* Yet most of these writers qualify the praise of our hero by hints and doubts, or by direct charges, now of weakness and irresolution, now of excessive vanity, now of lack of political tact or wisdom, or again of strange inconsistencies and forgetfulness of his own principles. Lamartine† the sentimentalist, Carlyle‡ the worshipper of force, Alison§ the high church tory, unite in this. Innumerable tribes of Royalists and Bonapartists have written libraries to prove that the general awakening of the human soul to freedom, that storm of which the first French Revolution is the most terrible outbreak, is the crowning evil of the ages, or that "the man on horseback" is the best hope of civilization. To all such writers the man whose power and life are the most complete embodiment of this movement must always be inexplicable and abhorrent, and when they shall have re-enslaved humanity and crushed back the toiling millions into hopeless misery under the thrones of anointed kings, or turned the nations into camps of mutual slaughter for the mirage of imperial glory, they will have checked the growing fame of Lafayette, but not till then.

It would be a pleasing task to tell the story of that wonderful life, which links the old world with the new; which brings out of the darkness of the old regime its best product, the lovely night-blooming flower of the chivalrous soul, and sturdily sets forth to clear of their noxious weeds the thousand fields of degraded humanity, to scatter everywhere the seeds of honor, bravery, intelligence, purity and courtesy. But a theme of many volumes must here be touched in a few sentences; I can but point to some of the many occasions in which Lafayette's actions were the hinges of destiny to multitudes, and ask you

---

* See especially Mignet, Histoire de la Révolution Francaise, ch. v; Guizot, Mémoires pour servir á l'histoire de mon temps, II, pp. 10-12; Taine, Revolution Francaise, II, p. 218.

† Histoire de la Restauration, VII, 26.

‡ The French Revolution, book III, ch. 4 and often.

§ History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon, ch. XXX, §§ 53, 54, and often.

to judge whether they merit the condemnation of Bourbon historians, the contempt of imperialists, the bitter denunciations of the apologists for the guillotine,* or even the timid and halting praise of many historical philosophers; or whether, on the other hand, his career from the cradle to the grave forms a consistent whole, in continuous harmony with the noble romance of his boyhood, whose memory brings us here.

On January 21st, 1782, Lafayette arrived in Paris, and was greeted by the Minister of War with the King's commission as Field Marshal of the Armies of France,† though at the same age, ten years later, Napoleon, the most renowned of precocious warriors, had not yet earned the command of a brigade. The Queen, the ladies of the court, the officers of state, the young noblemen, the masters of science and of letters vied to court his favor and sound his praise, but his mind was bent on other things than rest, enjoyment or popularity. In 1778, the ministry of France, in announcing to Great Britain the treaty of commerce with the United States, described them as "having become independent by their declaration of July 4, 1776." Lafayette had then said, "That is a principle of national sovereignty which will one day be brought home to themselves." It now came home to them in his own person. Deaf to all voices but that of humanity, he felt himself the embodiment of revolutionary principles rolling back from the New World upon the Old, and he bent his energies to the control and direction of their forces, that they might neither be defeated of their effect nor perverted to mischievous ends. For the next fourteen years Lafayette was, on the whole, the most popular, perhaps the most influential man in France.‡

Never were opened to an aspiring youth such repeated opportunities for power; inviting him even to become master of a great nation and one of the world's rulers. But never was aspiring youth more devoid of personal ambition, or of self-

* It is only these who accuse Lafayette of peculation and murder. For Marat's denunciations of him, see Taine, La Révolution, III, pp. 168, 169, 172; and compare Esquiros, Histoire des Montagnards, I, p. 377.

† A. Bardoux, La Jeunesse de Lafayette, p. 140; de la Lozère, Lafayette en Amérique et en France, p. 12.

‡ Lamartine, Hist. des Girond., book I, 22.

seeking in any form. His aspiration was to serve mankind, and he sought no reward for this service save the approval of his fellow-men. His letters and memoirs open his heart to every reader, and show that it throbbed with a mighty love, first for his family, and then for all who were oppressed or wronged, and that its own hunger was for the just esteem of his age and of posterity. Refusing to be the darling of the court, or the pampered favorite of the proud and powerful aristocracy into which he was born, he threw himself at once into the stupendous task of lifting and moulding the inorganic mass of humanity beneath them, until a public opinion should be created broad enough to be a worthy arbiter of fame. He was the first public man in Europe to prize and seek a truly national repute, founded on the knowledge and sober judgment of a whole people, in preference to the favor of power, the smiles of the great or the worship of a class or clique. His attitude of appeal to the conscience and judgment of mankind has been imputed to him as proof that vanity was a main-spring of his character, and that his ruling motive was to win the praises of men. But this slanderous reproach, which has found an echo even with some superficial writers of our own land, is refuted by the tenor of his life.

Think what a vain young man would do on returning home to find himself the idol of Paris, the favorite of royalty, the toast of all assemblies, the hero of the French nobility; and then recall what Lafayette did. In his very letter to Washington announcing the peace, he proposes to him a plan by which he hoped they two might prepare the way for the gradual abolition of African slavery in America, * a plan involving large sacrifices on his own part, but so sage and so humane that it commanded Washington's approval, as no other ever did, although Lafayette's subsequent attempt to execute it was defeated by the march of history forcing sterner work upon him. But he never lost his interest in the cause of emancipation. †

* Mémoires, II, p. 58.

† The last letter he ever wrote was that dated May 1, 1834, to Mr. Murray, President of the Society for the Abolition of African Slavery, expressing his assured confidence in the ultimate success of the cause : Mémoires, VI, pp. 763-767.

If the plan is wild, he wrote to the father at Mount Vernon, "I would rather be a fool in this way than wise in any other." Thousands have called him fool, for the illusion that the black race could be fitted for civil freedom, yet eighty years later our nation put forth its energies almost to the death in pursuit of the same illusion,—for the one who stood with God and liberty had now become a majority.

But there was other than African slavery and he found it nearer home. From the revocation of the Edict of Nantes Protestants had been outlaws in France. They could hold no offices, perform no act of public worship, contract no lawful marriage, convey no property by will; their children were bastards, and their estates open to the waste and ravage of the soldiery without defence. The King at his coronation had sworn to exterminate heretics. Lafayette uttered the first commanding and effective protest in France against this form of oppression.* For years he found hardly an influential supporter. But he gave himself and France no rest until he led the notables of the kingdom to address the King in behalf of emancipation. The edict followed, rescuing a large class of the best citizens from civil death, and the day came at last when Lafayette could write to Washington: "You will readily understand how great was my pleasure last Sunday in introducing at a table of the Ministry of State, the first protestant clergyman who has been able to show his face at Versailles since 1685."†

Even before this work was accomplished Lafayette had been overwhelmed with sympathy for the prisoners, thousands of whom were confined for long periods awaiting trial, or were at the will of the King's officers, many of them charged only with offences against cruel and impracticable revenue laws, or with independent political views. With all the energy of his mind he studied the system of penal law and the administration of justice, and found them in numberless points at war with the principles of civil liberty. He denounced their defects, exposed their abuses, boldly faced the throne and its agencies in de-

* Bardoux, La Jeunesse de Lafayette, p. 185.

† Mémoires, II, 178-180.

manding reforms. And while his success in this work was less rapid and less complete than in attacking religious persecutions, he yet identified with his name the great aim to reconcile individual freedom with the self-protection of society, and contributed more than any other Frenchman of his time to form a public opinion in favor of humane and efficient criminal laws.*

It was, perhaps, his zeal for those unjustly imprisoned which led him to study the financial system of the country, for one of his first demands from the notables was for the release from prison of all the multitudes confined for resistance to the infamous salt tax. In any case he studied finance as he studied politics and law, with the zeal of an enthusiast and with no aim but the good of the whole people.

In March, 1787, M. Nicolai, the chief of the bureau of accounts, explained to the notables certain so-called contracts, by which immense amounts of state property had been conveyed to favorites of the court. Lafayette vigorously denounced this policy and demanded reform. The president of the assembly, the King's brother, afterwards King Charles x, formally announced at the next session, in the name of the King, that if charges so grave were made it must be in writing and under a responsible name.

Before this threat M. Nicolai had no more to say; but Lafayette came forward with a resolution signed by himself, setting forth the scandalous abuses which were impoverishing the nation, demanding an inquiry into the waste of public estates by pretended contracts, which were really gifts to princes and favorites, and ending with these words: "The millions which are lavished are raised by taxation, and taxation can be justified by nothing but the real necessity of the state. All the millions thus given over to waste or to avarice are the product of the sweat, the tears, perchance the blood of the people, and the number of lives made wretched to gather the sums so lightly lavished is terrible indeed, in view of the justice and mercy which we know to be the natural traits of his Majesty."†

---

* Mémoires, II, 200, 201.

† Mémoires, II, 164-166; Bardoux, La Jeunesse de Lafayette, p. 197-198.

Simple and obvious as these truths appear to those bred under our institutions, they fell like a thunderbolt on the servants of the old monarchy. Calonne, most expert of financial tricksters, then at the head of the Treasury, had never heard such doctrine suggested, and to him it was treason. He went at once to the King and demanded that Lafayette be sent to the Bastile. Lafayette fortified himself with the proofs of his charges and came to face the government with them, only to learn that Calonne had been removed, and his system of wild extravagance and plausible make-shifts was abandoned. He then made use of his studies with a boldness unknown in France before, pointing out the only way to meet the vast and growing deficit in the public treasury, by rigid economies, beginning with the King, his household and dependents; by abolishing the royal preserves, the pensions and gifts bestowed for no merit or service; the prisons of state, which, he said, the King would suppress, if he understood their uselessness and danger; and, in fine, by compelling every department of the ministry, except the diplomatic service, to render public and detailed accounts of its expenditure. "The resources of the people," he declared, "are not inexhaustible; they are already too far exhausted. In my own province farmers are on the point of forsaking their land, mechanics their shops, the most diligent workingmen, stripped of their possessions, must soon choose between beggary and emigration, and no increase of taxes can be made without reducing the masses to extreme misery and despair." He proceeded to denounce the lotteries as a fraud practiced by the government on its own people; the taille, or system of customary subsidies levied by the Crown, as an unequal, arbitrary and ruinous method of taxation; and certain special taxes as intolerable burdens upon particular industries. In all this, he expressed only what to us are elementary principles of public economy, and it requires a careful study of the conditions under which he spoke to understand how far his political science was already in advance of his countrymen.

But he ended his speech with words which proved to be deeds. Promising to present to the King a memoir in which the true methods of financial reform should be described in de-

tail, he suggested that with the change of administration and the adoption of these measures the national credit might be placed on more natural foundations, the rate of interest on the public debt reduced, the collection of taxes simplified, and the companies acting as farmers of the revenue abolished. This then, he added, was the time to call upon his Majesty to combine all these measures and influences, and "to consolidate forever their happy results by the convocation of A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY!" These words were the bugle-call of the revolution. "What!" cried the King's brother from the chair; "you ask for the convocation of the States-general?" "Yes, and for something better than that," was the answer. "Shall I then say to the King that M. de Lafayette moves to call together the States-general?" "Yes, sir," said Lafayette, while his fellow notables gazed in wonder at his temerity. * Brienne, the new finance minister, had until this time been in sympathy with Lafayette, adopting his sound and practical projects of reform. But he was startled by the word in which Lafayette now brought home to France the principal of national sovereignty, avowed by it in the treaty of 1778, and pointed him out to the Council of State as the most dangerous man in France. The States-general, the gathering of the nobles, the clergy, and the third estate or commons, as a council of the kingdom, had been proposed before, and there was nothing to threaten the throne in the prospect of meeting a body so preponderantly loyal and aristocratic, so rooted in the traditional abuses of the old regime. But it was Lafayette's "something better than that;" it was the conception of a national assembly, to embody and exercise national sovereignty, and to reform society on the basis of freedom and justice, that startled the Court as with the sense of a day of doom at hand. The Queen, in particular, about this time withdrew her friendship, and the hatred and prejudice which she thenceforth cherished towards Lafayette occasioned the errors which brought her to the scaffold. †

---

* Mémoires, II, 177; Bardoux, La Jeunesse de Lafayette, p. 203.

† Bardoux, La Jeunesse de Lafayette, p. 354 and often; Lavallée, Histoire des Francais, IV, 76.

The authoritative word once spoken, all minds gravitated towards it, as the idea of the hour; and the National Assembly, the first expression of France as a nation of men with opinions and rights to assert, became inevitable. On May 26, 1788, Lafayette wrote to Washington, "I shall soon be in an assembly representing the French nation, or at Mount Vernon." Within a year he stood in the assembly as a leader of thought. There, after vigorously supporting Mirabeau in the demand that the King remove the troops with which he had environed the Assembly, he proposed a Declaration of Rights, and presented his draft, which was the substance of that finally adopted by the convention, and long known in France as the decalogue of freemen. It was the negation, the positive reverse of the practice of ages. The habits and traditions, institutions and laws, the tenure of property, the division of products, the administration of so-called justice, the social customs, schools, courts, police and prisons were organized for the few who had inherited the earth, against the many whose sole right was to serve and toil for masters. Government was an institution to protect the privileged classes and keep all others in subjection; to uphold a sovereignty vested by Divine authority in an anointed King. But at Lafayette's instance it was now declared by the voice of the nation that men as members of a political community are equal, that the sole end of government is the welfare of the governed, and that sovereignty is but the will of the whole people. * To these principles, learned by Lafayette from our Declaration of Independence, his life, his fortune and his sacred honor were dedicated. After thirteen years of consistent and intelligent devotion to them he now saw in France a public opinion created, a nation born, and his principles made its guide in framing its institutions and shaping its future. It is the fashion of historical critics to sneer at this declaration as a formula of abstract ideas and an impracticable philosophy, which has no place in political action. Lafayette, its author, and the chief creator of the public opinion which crystallized around it, is called a vain theorist, incapable of practical statesmanship.

* Mémoires, II, 251-253.

But to those who seek the motives and springs of history in moral forces and find the life of mankind in the ideas which inspire social action, such words as this declaration are the sternest and most memorable of deeds, and it is precisely the abstractions it expressed which the French revolution was a crude and passionate effort to realize, and of which all that is hopeful in the modern world is a partial and progressive application.

> "For all the past of time reveals
> A bridal-dawn of thunder peals
> Wherever thought hath wedded fact."

For the three years which followed the meeting of the National Assembly Lafayette's popularity was unbounded. It was a succession of stupendous events in bewildering rapidity; parties and policies, leaders, ideas and passions were in desperate struggle for mastery, with daily varying fortunes. As the organization of society crumbled and the old safeguards of order disappeared, the mob of Paris grew steadily stronger and more conscious of its strength, and at the same time more fickle, passionate and reckless. Under the forms of municipal government, and led by the worst of demagogues, it usurped the functions of the timid and irresolute executive, and became a clog and a terror to every true representative of the nation. Lafayette's real greatness was then conspicuous. He was the popular embodiment of the new doctrines and the champion of liberty. As the foremost soldier of the Revolution he was called to command the National Guard. The idol of his troops and of his people, his fame eclipsed even that of Necker, the wisest and most liberal statesman, and of Mirabeau, the most splendid orator of France, while his power was far beyond that of the King and all his ministry. No such opportunity for personal aggrandizement was ever thrust upon man as this, which came unsought to him, and it is not to be believed that he failed to see open before him the pathway to a throne. *

But Lafayette never wavered in allegiance to his principles. The sovereignty of the nation, the welfare of all citizens, these were his supreme care. Their foes had been tyranny, oppres-

* M. de Barante, Histoire de la Convention Nationale, book 1; see especially pp. 57, 81, 124-126.

sion, privilege, superstition, and against these he had warred manfully and triumphantly. Now he recognized their new foes in license, disorder, party-passion and personal ambition, and he turned his weapons against these. He suppressed riotous mobs with vigor and with humane severity; he protected the lives of the royal family, and would have saved them finally had the Queen's blind hatred of his liberal creed permitted her to trust him. Approached on all sides by proposals of alliance with strong leaders and factions seeking to control the state, he rejected every plan but that of keeping public order till the nation, by its authorized representatives, should assert its own sovereignty. When foreign invasion was threatened he took the command of the chief army in the East, but learning that the fierce and unscrupulous passions of the factions were threatening to turn Paris into a hell, and had terrorized into silence whatever of wisdom or statesmanship was left in the government, he returned to the capital alone, faced, before the mob and the cowed assembly, Robespierre and the other demagogues who were clamoring for his head, denounced them as the real traitors and the one great danger of the country, strove with all his energy to awaken and reorganize the public conscience against the rising chaos and the threatened terror; and when he found that he stood alone, and there was no power in the nation to resist the growing frenzy, he resumed his command, resolved at least to protect his people, until their senses should return, from the added woes of foreign conquest. But he had no sooner withdrawn from the capital than the "red fool-fury of the Seine" swept away the new constitution, usurped the functions of national government and condemned him to die. They had taken pains, by numberless emissaries, to excite and divide the troops, so that, even among his devoted comrades on the field, Lafayette was unable to discover that united devotion to orderly freedom which alone would have justified him in employing the army as an instrument to restore the constitution. He was ready to enforce the laws at any cost, if assured of a nation's support; but a civil war, with no distinct limit to its duration, and with no prospect but of military sway at the end, was that which his conscience could not face. Nor

would he be responsible for dividing the nation's forces in front of its foes. A less scrupulous or a more ambitious man would have decided otherwise. Had Alexander, Cæsar or Napoleon been in his place on any day from May, 1789, to September, 1892, he would have made himself personal master of France within a month. That Lafayette did not do this, did not attempt it, never used his strength and his opportunity for any end but the public good, nor sought, for himself, power, wealth or ease, but asked only the approval of the judgment and conscience of his fellows, is the ground for all the charges of weakness and of vanity which have been brought against him. *

With this hasty glance at the years of Lafayette's most sustained public activity, we may surely dismiss such criticism, as founded upon a false and unworthy standard of greatness. Of his subsequent life our time permits no sketch, but I must refer to some of the momentous crises in the destinies of France, in which he took a leading, and more than once a decisive part. After five years of extreme suffering in an Austrian prison, where the foes of freedom felt that they were confining and crushing the Revolution itself, and after two years more of exile, he found Napoleon master of the country and preparing his empire. He feared Lafayette beyond all other men, and for years strove by influence, authority, bribes and threats to control his course and to secure his support. Failing in this, he aimed at his life. But through all his changes of temper, Lafayette maintained the same attitude, rejecting every favor and every place in the government, openly and everywhere advocating the cause of public order and of patriotic national defence, accepting Napoleon himself, as leader, on the sole condition that he should respect the equal rights of citizens and subordinate himself to the laws; but resisting and denouncing to the face of the tyrant every act of arbitrary power, and the policy of substituting his will for law. In the height of his supremacy Napoleon declared to his council that all France was now set right and ordered to his will, except that Lafayette was

* Lamartine thinks he ought to have made himself dictator. Hist. des Girondins, book XVII; compare Taine, Revolution, II, p. 389.

all ready to begin again,* a singular historical echo of the situation sung by the old Roman poet, when Cæsar found the whole world subdued, except the indomitable soul of Cato.

But after Waterloo, when the army was broken, and the falling emperor demanded a dictatorship, to exhaust the resources of France in a desperate resistance to the last, it was Lafayette who came forward to declare, in the name of the nation, that this was the end, and that the despot must choose between abdication and deposition. With the determination born of a terrible necessity, but with all the tender and respectful courtesy due to an unfortunate foe, he extorted the surrender of power, and then exerted himself to the utmost to protect the prostrate giant from the hands of foreign enemies. Again at the age of 58, Lafayette may be said, as at the age of 33, to have held the heart and will of France in his hands. Had the nation been left to itself, his voice, for orderly liberty, would have been preponderant. But victorious Europe imposed the old Bourbon monarchy on the land by its bayonets, and he could only acquiesce and hope.

In spite of the strong personal esteem of Louis XVIII for Lafayette, the royal government used all its power over the narrow electorate to keep him out of the Chamber of Deputies, and it was not until 1819 that the march of liberal opinion, the reaction from the counter-revolution of Bourbonism, succeeded in placing him among the representatives of the nation. It was the revolutionist of 1789 in person that faced royalists now, and resisted all their schemes to entrench the dynasty and restore the traditional abuses of the old regime. Perhaps no public man in any age has been the object of such bitter hatred as that with which the Bourbon party pursued Lafayette now. Fifteen years before, Napoleon had told him that he had himself much experience of the malice and personal hostility of enemies, but he wondered what Lafayette had done to the royal powers of Europe to evoke their yet more passionate and furious hatred.† But this was intensified by his political course under

* Bardoux, Les Dernières Années de Lafayette, p. 202.

† Bardoux, Les Dernières Années de Lafayette, p. 171.

the restoration, and has filtered through the writings of prejudiced or superficial historians into the minds even of many open-minded readers, in the form of attacks upon his fair fame. Finding that the Bourbon monarchy was hopelessly committed to the subjugation of the minds of the nation, the destruction of popular rights, the narrowing and corruption of the suffrage, the degradation of the Assembly, the enslavement of the press and the denial of general education, Lafayette turned his efforts again to the formation of a public opinion which should resist it. Since open discussion was impossible, he formed secret societies throughout France for the comparison of views, the instruction, combination and organization of patriots. Standing at the centre of all these associations, and in communication with all, he became known to the Government as the head-conspirator, and the question was ever before them whether to seize and destroy him. Ready for any fate, and apparently convinced that his death in such a cause would arouse the friends of freedom and hasten the republic, he defied accusation and inquiry, assumed every responsibility, and seemed to court the charge of treason. But the Government shrank, not daring to attack so great a foe, and contented itself with the arrest and death of some of his faithful friends, from whose lives he vainly tried to divert the stroke to his own.

Again defeated in 1823, by a prodigious effort of the government * in a narrow and aristocratic electorate, he was shut out of Parliamentary life, and, after his great reception in America in the two following years, he concluded that his only contribution to the coming Republic must be by the fostering of moral forces. He returned in 1827 to the Chamber of Deputies, as the contest grew deeper and more open between the national spirit and the narrow and arbitrary clericalism of the new King, Charles X., and declared himself still, as from youth, devoted to the cause of liberty and ready to serve that cause with all his time and his blood. Not content with earnest labor in behalf of popular education as the first need of the French

* Bardoux, Les Dernières Années de Lafayette, p. 297 ; de la Lozère, Lafayette en Amérique et en France, pp. 146-149.

people, he sought to enlighten and stimulate public opinion on sound principles of self-government. He was aided in this by a strong band of young orators and statesmen, and their success was such that, when, in March, 1830, the King defied the constitution and undertook to rule without the representatives of the nation, Lafayette, now at the age of 72, at once took the leadership of the popular movement, the supreme command of the armed powers of the nation; with indomitable courage enforced the will of the Assembly and suppressed disorder; exacted from the Duke of Orleans every guaranty which, in the judgment of the wisest statesmen in France, was necessary to ensure the exercise of national sovereignty, and then placed him, as citizen King of the French, upon a throne meant to be hereditary, surrounded by republican institutions.

The choice of Lafayette at this time was decisive, and, for the next eighteen years, France remained at peace and in prosperity, growing rapidly in wealth, in political consciousness and in social organization. That the Citizen King was not true to his trust, that at last the power of royalist traditions around his throne brought him into open antagonism with the ripened force of liberal opinions, and he too had to flee, has strangely enough been made the occasion of reflections on the statesmanship of the greater than Warwick who made him King. But only prejudice can pervert the facts so greatly. The whole tenor of French history, through the two generations which have followed the Revolution of July, has been a conspicuous proof of his wisdom and foresight, at a crisis when an error might have plunged the nation into disorder. His ideal of the State was a Republic, but in France the social organization, the political habits of thought and associated action, the experience of party management and the free and regular discussion of political principles, with the spirit of acquiescence in the ultimate expression by majorities of the nation's will, all this moral fabric, which is the essential basis of Republican institutions, was wanting. Two generations more of widening intelligence and social education were needed before the people as a whole could be ready for self-government. No executive strong enough to secure public order was possible without the name and tradi-

tions of royalty, and these could be best retained by a descendant of the old line of Kings. Louis Philippe, of Orleans, was the only practicable choice.

Lafayette saw, further, that such a monarchy, to be of lasting service, must be cut off from the support and influence of the reactionary party, and enlisted, by interest as well as by covenants, in the popular cause. These conditions were partly fulfilled in the person of the new ruler, and Lafayette strove to complete them. But his own dignity made it impossible to accept any favor, title or office from the new government, and while yet the gratitude of the King was finding such expressions as no citizen had ever heard before,* he determined that it was his duty, and the highest contribution he could make to the future welfare of the country, to organize and strengthen a constitutional opposition to the King's administration, which should check and repress its natural tendencies to dynastic aggrandizement, and should compel it to apply the vast revenues formerly wasted upon favorites and court luxury to the cause of universal primary education. Within two years, the revival of old laws, which he regarded as illiberal and immoral, laws against freedom of assemblies and restricting discussion through the press, the efforts of the ministry to resist wider suffrage and to take from the representatives of the people the initiative in legislation, and their failure to make free schools general, alienated him wholly from the monarchy, which he regarded as a temporary makeshift, to protect society from disorder while the nation should be educated for self-government. The hopes and predictions of his last hours are fulfilled in the new France, our sister republic, the home of civil liberty in the old world, whose free institutions, sheltering and fostering a prosperity hardly known elsewhere, are shaping for that nation, that has been the laboring and suffering Hercules of modern history, its golden age. And her own students are beginning to see that, as far as individuals can be recognized as forces in history, the existence of these institutions to-day, their rapid and magnifi-

* Letters of Louis Philippe to Lafayette, Mémoires, VI, 430, 436, 450, 454-456, 483, 495-497, 500-503, and the proclamation by the King of Dec. 27, 1830.

cent development and their glorious promise, find one of their chief ultimate causes in the life, labors and teachings of Lafayette.

Any attempt to review the character of our hero, in the light even of this meagre outline of his achievements, would detain you too long. I have spent many hours and days in dwelling on his beautiful and interesting career in his own beloved France as well as in this country, where he first drew the sword for freedom. In these researches my attention has been given more and more to the amazing injustice done to this great man in the current works which describe his times. The elevation of his character, the depth of his insight into social conditions, and the value of his services to mankind have found no adequate appreciation among historians, even those who have fully understood his disinterested and absorbing devotion to the cause of human liberty, and his unparalleled bravery. * It is because historians in general measure greatness by false standards, and give notice and regard to the exploits of strength rather than to the real service of civilization. To such an extent does this tendency pervert and poison the fountains of thought among reading men that we can scarce look into a popular record of the past without crying, in the words of the cynical poet:

> "Were things but only called by their right name,
> Cæsar himself would be ashamed of fame."

But I must content myself with giving you the assurance that by the standard of manhood, which every Christian nation and every sound social philosopher must recognize as true, Lafayette was one of the few greatest men of modern times.† His life had a completeness, as the expression of a large, fine mind, and of lofty and faultless character, such as hardly another life of his age attained. His efforts and plans for the welfare of humanity were among the largest and the boldest ever conceived, and while their immediate and full accomplishment

---

* See Taine, La Révolution, II, 218 and often. Lamartine, Histoire des Girond. book XXIV, and often.

† Compare Cloquet, Souvenirs sur la Vie privée du Général Lafayette, p. 342.

Mau

F. COLLINS, PUEBLO, COL. PHOTO. PHILA. ENGRAVING CO. THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WIL., DE

REV. WILLIAM L. BULL.

Son of William M. Bull, son of Rev. Levi Bull, son of Col. Thomas Bull, a Revolutionary soldier.

was impossible, they were contributions of substantial value to the progress of liberal opinions and to the reform of institutions. Every accusation or sneer that has been directed against his fame resolves itself into a reproach for preferring right to force, and the service of mankind to self-aggrandizement.* An American by adoption, an ideal Frenchman, the highest type of his race and nation, in mind and character, he will be forever remembered as the hero of liberty on two continents, linking together the memories of her struggles and the hopes of her higher destiny in the old world and the new.

"Such was he. His work is done.
But while the races of mankind endure,
Let his great example stand
Colossal, seen of every land,
And keep the soldier firm, the statesman pure;
Till in all lands, and through all human story,
The path of duty be the way to glory."

BENEDICTION

BY REV. WILLIAM L. BULL.

The God of Peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you—the people of these United States, the citizens of this State and the members of this community—perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, His only Son, our Lord; to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

Mr. Lewis has kindly placed at the disposal of the Historical Society the following supplemental paper prepared by him since the delivery of the oration above:

---

* To Napoleon Lafayette was "a political simpleton, the perpetual dupe of men and of facts," because he was unselfish; Las Casas, Mémorial de Sainte Helène, IV, p. 249; see also Taine, Le Régime Moderne, I, p. 75; Esquiros, Histoire des Montagnards, I, p. 329.

LAFAYETTE AND THE HISTORIANS.

SUPPLEMENTAL PAPER BY CHARLTON T. LEWIS.

In the early years of the War of Independence, many soldiers of fortune were attracted, by the hope of wealth or fame, to the service of the Colonies. Silas Deane, the agent of Congress in Paris, was lavish in promises of rank and pay to officers of experience; but the patriots, fighting here for their firesides and freedom, soon wearied of a system in which they should struggle in subordination and obscurity, while the high places of power and honor were given to foreign adventurers. Hence, when a youth in his twentieth year appeared in Philadelphia, July 25th, 1777, and handed to Chairman Lowell, of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, a letter of introduction from Franklin, and a written promise from Deane of a commission as general, he was politely informed that his presence was unwelcome and his expectations preposterous.

This youth was the Marquis de Lafayette, representative of one of the oldest and noblest families in France, educated for the Court, and bound by family tradition and marriage to the privileged classes and the old regime. But his childhood revolted from the frivolity of the throngs about the throne; and his whole heart embraced the social and political philosophy which inspires philanthropy, and demands for all men freedom and civil equality. About the end of August, 1776, the Duke of Gloucester, brother of George III, visited Metz; the governor, the Comte de Broglie, Louis XVI's intimate friend and adviser, entertained him at dinner, with the young Marquis, who was learning the duties of an officer in the garrison. The royal duke had just learned of the astounding declaration which his brother's foolish subjects had proclaimed at Philadelphia, and described it with ridicule and indignation. The boy was startled that the truth he cherished as a faith and a hope was already the political creed of a people, who were striving to become a nation. He questioned the Duke on the Colonies, and the policy of England towards them, and before he left the table had determined to consecrate his life to their cause.

The difficulties which he met and his persistence in overcoming them are known to all. The remonstrances and prayers of his kindred, the mockery of many friends, the command of his King, the extreme danger of capture by the British on the sea, failed to move him. Without prospect of repayment, he bought and fitted his ship and employed skillful officers as

companions. But now distressing news came from America. It was reported that Howe's army would consist of more than thirty thousand men, well fed and well armed, who in the next campaign could easily destroy the half-starved band, less than three thousand in number, held together by Washington at Morristown. Deane and Lee themselves shrank from permitting a hopeless sacrifice. They released him from his promise and advised him to remain at home. Thanking Deane for his frankness, the young enthusiast answered, "Till now you have seen only my zeal; now is the time to show confidence in the cause. It is in the hour of danger that I wish to share your fortunes."

After the voyage of seven weeks and the ride of six hundred miles through the wilderness, he presented his credentials, and was repulsed. Congress, by its Committee, saw in him only one of Deane's mercenaries, who, seeking rank and preferment, would spread jealousy and insubordination, if commissioned in the army. Lafayette, convinced that his letters had not really been read, and that he would be welcomed if understood, sent to the President of Congress a letter, to be read in public: "After the sacrifices I have made, I have the right to demand two favors; to serve at my own expense, and to enter the army as a volunteer." This was a new language from such a source. Patriots who had dreaded the accession of professional soldiers from Europe, almost as much as armed invaders, recognized in Lafayette a champion of freedom. On July 31st Congress voted to accept his services, and to commission him as Major General.

A few days later Lafayette was presented to the General-in-chief, at a dinner attended by many public men. On leaving the table, Washington took him aside, expressed a high appreciation of his devotion to the cause, and a strong personal interest, and offered him a home at head-quarters. From that hour dates a friendship which, in the romantic interest of its origin and course, in its strength, sincerity and permanence, and in the importance of its consequences, has hardly a parallel. Here was the veteran warrior whose native reserve had been intensified by hard experience into a seeming unapproachable coldness, whose sagacity in reading men and caution in trusting them had impressed many as an incapacity for affection and confidence, whose lonely nature bore in silence the heaviest burdens of war and of state, but whose personal ascendency was the chief tie which bound the Colonies together, and whose genius and character were the hope of their national life. To him comes the boy aristocrat, the darling of luxury and privi-

lege, to whom life was ideal, and who, from a romantic impulse of philanthropy, throwing away rank and fortune sought only the glory of serving the cause of mankind. But when the bronzed hero, with his sternly sober and practical eye, looked upon the fair-faced knight-errant of abstract freedom, he loved him with a love which endured till death, which contributed much to the happiness and the public services of both, and influenced the destinies of two great nations.

We cannot now trace the story of this remarkable intimacy further than to note that the friendship of Washington saved Lafayette from jealousies and prejudices which threatened his usefulness, and might have driven him from the country. Not that envy and detraction were altogether hushed. Washington was himself the mark of constant calumny, and secret intrigue often sought to destroy his authority. The youth whom he loved and trusted above all his officers, and whom he delighted to call son, shared in the annoyance and suffering caused by these attacks, and was one of his most efficient aids in repelling them. But the judgment of posterity must uphold not merely his right to select for himself his intimate friend, but his wisdom in bestowing that proud title where it was most deserved and most useful. Envy lurked in dark corners, jealousy breathed in whispers, and only those who have looked behind the records of formal history into the secrets of the times know how much of rage and bitterness was stirred in little hearts by the generous love for Lafayette which the nation learned from Washington.

A curious illustration of this, which has never been published, is found in a letter to Baron Steuben from Major William North of his staff, concerning the magnificent reception of Lafayette in Boston upon his return in 1784, after independence was secured. "My dear Baron," he writes, "what with a villainous Easterly wind & the foolish parade which has been made with Don Quixotte, I have not had a moment's peace. He arrived here on Friday amidst the acclamations of foolish disbanded officers and the town rabble—seated on a little horse (for the sake of Christ, I am sorry it was not an ass) he made his public entry." Such incidents have their value in showing that the world of those days was the world of men, and that even in this country, which he served and helped so much to save, the fame of Lafayette was not the monotonous and unrelieved blaze of glory which it might seem to the reader of our popular histories. But the American people as a whole have learned to esteem him as did the patriotic masses then; and the enthusiasm, which in our literature and in the hearts of our

citizens honors him as one of the noblest founders and benefactors of the republic, is a heritage of belief and feeling from the father of his country.

This is not the place to recount his services to our cause. There is a singular inability in our historians to agree in appraising them. To some it seems that without Lafayette there would have been no alliance with France and no final achievement of independence; while many writers treat his action and influence as but an incident, wholly subordinate to the great movement of events. My conviction is that, on each of three great occasions, his services were essential; that is, without them, the success of the Colonies would have been seriously imperiled. The first was his loyal and resolute resistance to the successive conspiracies of 1778 in the army and in Congress, against the commander-in-chief. The second was in the admirable union of power and tact with which he determined and shaped the combined naval and military expedition of France, in aid of the United States, in 1780. The third was his management of the campaign of 1781 in Virginia, and his mediation, inducing the Comte de Grasse to postpone his voyage southward, and to co-operate with the land forces against Yorktown; two indispensable links in the chain of events which brought about the surrender of Cornwallis, the decisive success of the war.

But it is needless now to defend these conclusions. It is not the amount of his contribution to the final victory, that concerns us now, but himself, his manhood, his mind and character. Here the American people, founding their judgment on his conduct during our war, are substantially at one. Had he died at the surrender of Yorktown in 1781, he would be remembered as the ideal, almost the mythical hero of our legendary history; transcendent in fearlessness, in loyalty to friendship and to his convictions, and in his passionate love of freedom; tender in all human sympathies, generous to friend and foe; quick of eye and hand, prompt and sound of judgment, resolute of will, endowed with a precocity of military genius unsurpassed since Alexander of Macedon; and stepping naturally into high places of authority as one born to command; too eager to challenge the enemies of his friends or of his principles, too reckless of personal danger, too hungry for the glory of beneficent achievement, yet subordinating even these magnificent faults to honor and to duty. To what youth of twenty-four have such testimonials of exalted character been given as when Vergennes, the prime minister of Louis XVI, declared that his name was held in veneration by the whole people of

France, and when George Washington wrote him that the certainty of a high place in Lafayette's esteem would always be essential to his happiness?

But Lafayette's career was only begun. More than fifty years of active life were still before him, with a conspicuous part in the most momentous scenes of European history. Cherishing fondly the memories of his youth, which was ours, we now ask, how was this promise of greatness fulfilled? If we consult the historians of France, we shall be bewildered by their answers. It seems impossible that the character and actions ascribed to Lafayette by writers of repute, can belong to accounts of one man. Not merely do royalists denounce him as a traitor to his King and his country, a conspirator who sacrificed conscience, friendship and honor for power; not merely do the partisans of anarchy accuse him of corruption and murder; but authors who profess a desire to put aside the passions of party and to pronounce the judgments of posterity describe him, now as an impracticable fanatic, headstrong, ungovernable, unreasoning; now as vain, weak, irresolute, a weathercock in the wind of popular favor; again as an amiable and benevolent gentleman, whose narrow intellect and lofty morality fit him for a respectable private career; and finally as the honest dupe and tool of cunning rogues. True, there are other voices, those of Mignet, Thiers, Guizot, Quinet, which recognize in the Lafayette of three French revolutions the same champion of truth and of mankind whom we cherish as the friend of Washington. But many historians and biographers who are widely read confuse and contradict this verdict; and the outlines of the most romantic and interesting figure of the modern age are blurred on the tablet of the world's memory.

But two or three conspicuous instances of the depreciation of Lafayette's fame can be cited here. Napoleon at St. Helena said that Lafayette was a political simpleton, whose easy good nature in public affairs made him the perpetual dupe of men and of facts. Admirers of the great brigand never weary of repeating this as a final estimate. Thomas Carlyle, to whom

> "Power is justified
> Though armed against St. Michael,"

whose standards of greatness are Cromwell and Frederick II, finds in Lafayette a mark for mockery and sneers. Looking at the world with a telescope of strangely colored glasses, he turns its small end towards the person and the deeds of "Lafayette, thin constitutional pedant; clear, thin, inflexible, as water turned into thin ice, whom no Queen's heart can love." This is extremely vague, and all of Carlyle's pages together mere-

ly shew that he had for Lafayette an undefined dislike, as a man without force enough for his circumstances. Lamartine, however, the brilliant and sentimental historian of the Girondists and of the Restoration, is neither reticent nor ambiguous on this subject. He while a youth had seen and known Lafayette, the venerable patriot and sage, and had written much in honor of his fidelity to principle, his love of freedom and of mankind, and of his services to France during the first revolution. But his great historical works bring two charges which his authority and eloquence have made hurtful to Lafayette's fame. The first is that his famous attack on the Jacobins in June 1792 was ill-judged and foredoomed to failure; that it was dictated by a foolish confidence in moral forces at a time when there was no resource but the sword. "Lafayette," says Lamartine, "had done too much or not enough. In politics, to threaten without striking is to lay bare one's own weakness. Had he wished to strike an effective stroke, he might have marched a regiment on the Jacobin Club, closed it, advanced on the assembly, demanded a dictatorship, and thus have crushed faction where he but irritated it."

The same writer's second attack impeaches even the moral consistency of the old patriot, who in 1821 organized a revolutionary opposition to the crown's encroachments on popular rights. "Now," he says, "Lafayette, burdened by years, and dreading lest death snatch from him, as from Moses, the sight of the promised land of freedom, proved false to his public calling as a tribune of law and order, false to his own character, to his oath as a deputy, to his habits of open opposition, and, at the peril of his life and his conscience, became the instigator, center and heart of a dark conspiracy." These accusations have been re-echoed in many forms, and have apparently had some influence in qualifying even American opinion, at least suggesting a doubt whether early youth may not have been the period of Lafayette's worthiest achievement. They have been adopted and wantonly exaggerated by Sir Archibald Alison, whose History of Europe, by its comprehensiveness, fulness and convenient form has come into general use, in spite of gross inaccuracies and its bitter partisanship. Alison's hostility to Lafayette betrays him into contradictory charges, so that one can hardly say whether he regards him as a man of immense power, perverted to bad ends, or as a weak, dull and commonplace pretender to leadership; but he finally attempts an elaborate summary of his character. Lafayette, he tells us, "was inordinately vain. . . . . This was the secret of his democratic principles. . . . . His thirst for popularity

never failed to bring him back to the feet of the popular idol, and involved him, in the latter years of his life, in many contradictory acts and discreditable connections. . . . . Like all fanatics, whether in religion or politics, he was insensible to the lessons of experience and deaf to the voice of reason."

Last of the philosophic historians of that epoch we may name Taine, in many respects the most instructive and influential of all, who has often done justice to the heroism, the inflexible principles and the noble generosity of Lafayette; and who yet, in describing his great struggle against anarchy in 1792, is led by the passion for epigram to the point of paradox; and says that it was "by the short-sightedness of his intellect, by the inconsistency of his political theories, and by the elevation of his contradictory sentiments, that Lafayette was then the one man who precisely represented the best opinion of the Assembly and of France."

Such attacks have influenced the popular estimate of Lafayette in his own country. Thus, his biographer, de la Lozere, writing in the latter days of the Second Empire, tells us that, on the whole, "The conduct of Lafayette has found more detractors than eulogists, because it always showed little knowledge of men, and of the necessary conditions of government. . . . . How much of self sacrifice, generosity and patriotism were thrown away in him, for want of practical good sense to guide them," and even M. Bardoux, who has just devoted two volumes of absorbing interest to a careful review, intelligent and commonly appreciative, of Lafayette's entire career, concludes in a vein of depreciation not justified by his own narrative, that "his political life is open in many respects to criticism. He was not a great thinker, not an eminent orator, nor a statesman, and he had no knowledge of the human heart." Bardoux's special censure is directed, like that of Lamartine, against the share of Lafayette in the Carbonari conspiracies under the Restoration. Had he but confined himself to opposing, by legal methods, the ultra-royalists, he would have been, in this charming writer's view, faithful to his past; but he left the straight path through disdain of peril and through intrepidity, and this shows moral degeneracy in his old age!

Lafayette, in his life-time, was assailed with a bitterness hardly met by any other public man. When called upon by friends to protect his reputation, his answer was: "My inaction in this respect comes from my assured conviction that liberty will at last be established in the old world as in the new, and that then the history of our revolutions will set in its proper

place every fact and every man." Now that his beloved native land and the country of his adoption are the two chief representatives of free government, the time has come to inquire whether his confidence was just. The sun of freedom has risen, as he predicted, on the Eastern World; and he believed that a breeze of truth from the west would now sweep away the clouds that in darker hours gathered to obscure his fame. It is above all from our country that his vindication, if he has been wronged, should come; for on August 15, 1824, New York city received him to the heart of America, with the noblest welcome which a free people ever gave to its benefactor, and by the voice of its Mayor formally assumed the guardianship of his great name, assuring him that in all time to come the love and devotion of its citizens should prove to the world the falsehood of the old proverb that republics are ungrateful.

What, then, was the conduct of Lafayette, on the great occasions on which he has been accused of unworthy motives and acts? How far are we justified in retaining our esteem for his character and his abilities? If our idol is found to be clay, let us sadly confess it; but if head, hands and heart prove to be of pure gold, let us yield nothing to the cynical spirit which refuses to believe in goodness and greatness,—that mockery which is "the fume of little hearts,"—but rejoice that we may still cherish, as a precious legacy from the fathers of the republic, the same generous enthusiasm they felt for the hero of liberty on two continents.

We may pass over the period of his service as commander-in-chief of the National Guard for the fifteen months following the fall of the Bastile; for, while certain of his acts, and in particular the resolute suppression of disorder by his troops on July 17, 1791, were afterwards denounced by the anarchists of the terror, no reputable historian has been heard to second the condemnation. During this command, he was beyond question the most popular man in France. The King and all candid royalists recognized in him the preserver of the lives of the royal family; the whole nation thanked him as the bulwark of public peace, and looked upon his power as the guaranty for the orderly establishment of the constitution, when, in October, 1791, he surrendered his commission, with a dignity and unselfishness equal to that of which Washington had set the example eight years before, he addressed his troops in a farewell, which, in its political wisdom and moral elevation, seems a forecast of that with which Washington crowned his public career five years later. At this time the National Assembly, on his motion, unanimously proclaimed universal amnesty for political

offences; the National Guard tendered him a sword forged from the bolts of the Bastile, and even the municipality of Paris voted him a marble statue of Washington, and struck a medal in his honor. In short, had his life ended on that day, he would be remembered in all records of the history of France as the intrepid, efficient and unselfish embodiment and guide of all that was noble and hopeful in the revolution. The only just reproach which can be made against this part of his career is, that, in an excess of modesty, shrinking from the appearance of self-seeking, he laid down his sword too soon. But if he was blind not to see that it was about to be needed more than ever, this blindness was shared by the whole nation. They who sneer at his child-like credulity in accepting the enthusiastic welcome of the constitution, by King, Assembly and people, as the end of the revolution, are but denying to him a superhuman power of prophecy.

After a few weeks of retirement at home, Lafayette was again called to public service. The extreme royalists turned against him more fiercely than ever, under the influence of the Queen, who never forgave him for being the first to demand a national assembly in 1787, and whose hatred seemed intensified by the humiliation of owing her life to his chivalric protection on October 6, 1789; under the influence of conspirators, too, who sought to destroy all public order, in the belief that anarchy offered a more promising way to despotism than did constitutional liberty. The anarchist mob saw in him the chief obstacle in the way of that universal levelling which means social disorganization and ruin; and sought his destruction, under the lead of Marat, who already in July had avowed himself "ready, with two thousand men, to tear out the heart of that infernal Mottie, and his battalions of slaves." Hence, in November, when Paris was to elect a Mayor, and Lafayette was designated by public opinion, the two extreme parties united to defeat him. The money and intrigues of the Court deliberately aided the passions of the Jacobins to substitute the fierce and irresponsible Petion, and thus contributed greatly to the ascendency of the Mountain, which destroyed the royal family and disgraced and ruined the revolution. But when in December great armies were necessary for the national defence, Narbonne, the Minister of War, demanded of the King that Lafayette be named as one of the three chief generals. The King refused, but the minister declared that if not appointed to-day, he would be forced on them by public opinion to-morrow, and the commission was signed.

At his head-quarters in Metz, Lafayette found himself re-

sponsible for the safety of the frontier and the discipline of a large army, with no aid and little sympathy from his colleagues; while in Paris the remnants of royal authority were crumbling, the legislative assembly was drifting helplessly, and an infuriated populace, led by the demagogues of the Jacobin Club and its associated organizations, was rapidly assuming the powers of government. Emissaries of anarchy were threatening to demoralize his troops. He proclaimed his devotion to the constitution and his abhorrence of disorder; Robespierre and the Mountain clamored for his head. Intelligence, education, wealth, were silenced by terror. The whole social fabric was falling into confusion. The nation must soon be a prey to foes without and within, unless some controlling authority should seize and direct its forces. There was no center for such authority, other than the patriot general and his devoted army. What was he to do?

His critics of after-times, looking back upon the scene, through the wild disorders and social desolation which followed, tell us that his course was plain; a strong man, equal to the emergency, would have marched to Paris, suppressed the clubs by force, compelled the Assembly to make him dictator, and imposed upon the nation its own salvation by his will. Instead of this, Lafayette wrote to the Assembly pointing out the dangers to the whole country from the control of its authorities by the mob of Paris; denouncing its instigators and leaders in the Assembly itself and in the municipal government, and demanding their punishment and the suppression of the clubs. The boldness of this letter amazed all parties. The majority of delegates believed it just and wise, but had not the courage to support its policy in the face of the angry Jacobins. The violent minority were afraid to meet it openly, but obtained a reference to a commission, on the pretext of doubting its authenticity, and used the time to fire the passions of the populace against its author. Lafayette at once made safe the positions of his army and came alone to Paris; avowed his letter at the bar of the Assembly; and appealed to the public spirit of the nation to sustain the constitution, and to suppress the anarchic forces which threatened its destruction.

The appeal proved vain. The Assembly was cowed, the Court party, weak in itself, was divided by intrigues and treason. A review of the National Guard, which promised to afford a nucleus around which intelligent patriotism might gather, was defeated by Petion at the secret suggestion of the infatuated Queen herself. No single man of influence could be found to second the magnificent courage of the general, and summon

the community to the defense of its highest interests. Failing at the capital, Lafayette hastened to his army, convinced that only a great victory over the Austrians would arouse the nation; and resolved to bring about a speedy battle. But in this he was thwarted, first by his colleague Luckner, and then by his enemies in the administration, who sent orders to some of his generals not to obey him. On August 8 the Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, refused to condemn Lafayette, a commission of inquiry having approved his conduct throughout; but the fierce mob threatened, hunted and maltreated the members who had voted for acquittal. On the 10th they drove the King and his family from the palace to their only refuge in the legislative hall, terrorized the Assembly and forced decrees abolishing the constitution and the throne, and condemning Lafayette as a traitor; and soon seized all the machinery of government, and proceeded to wholesale murder. Lafayette believing that his duty to his country was done, and that he was now free to think of himself and his family, set his command in perfect order, that the defense of his country might not suffer, and started for Mount Vernon, only to be seized, in defiance of international law, by the enemies of France, and confined for five years in Prussian and Austrian prisons.

The facts are a complete answer, then, to the charge of blind fanaticism and Quixotic recklessness. In June, 1792, Lafayette expected, no doubt, to find in the new legislature much of the courage, statesmanship and patriotism which had characterized the National Convention until it adjourned nine months before. He expected to find the public opinion, which had for two years sustained his practical dictatorship in enforcing the laws and protecting life and order, still alive, and capable again of awaking to action. He expected to find the National Guard, which had through the same years honored him beyond measure, and faithfully served the nation under him, still true to the cause of peace and law. He expected to find even in the Court, under the pressure of imminent danger, some sane regard to its own interests. If any of these reasonable expectations had been realized, his enterprise would have had a chance of success. Had they all been fulfilled, his triumph and that of order and the constitution would have been signal, and perhaps permanent. It may be true that if the sole end in view were to crush his enemies, who were those of the nation and of humanity, the probability of success by violating his oath and usurping power was greater than by the sublime self-renunciation of his appeal to moral forces. But to impeach his wisdom, to insist that he was the dupe of abstractions and an

unpractical fanatic, because he refused to commit a great crime in order to achieve power which might be used for good, is not only to falsify history, but is to degrade humanity. Let no American, at least, accept a standard of greatness which will exalt Cromwell and dishonor Washington. A careful review of Lafayette's struggle against the disorganizers of 1792, shows that his course was inspired as truly by the wisdom of sound statesmanship as by the fidelity of unselfish patriotism.

The famous judgment of Napoleon, already cited, deserves notice only because it has been so often repeated. Lafayette was under personal obligations to the First Consul for insisting in 1797, in obedience to the directory, on the release by the Austrians of the prisoners of Olmutz. These obligations he always fully acknowledged, and in many instances he strove to repay them, even in over-measure. Napoleon sought first to exclude him from France, as a dangerous rival in popularity; then to win his favor and place him in high office as his own supporter. Lafayette steadfastly refused to countenance usurpation or tyranny; ever ready, if the sovereignty of the nation were secured, to honor the strong man at its head, but determined never to accept a master other than the law. On the return from Elba, he was foremost in demanding guarantees for the constitution. After the defeat of Waterloo, he took the lead in declaring the permanence of the national legislature, in defeating the dictatorship asked by the emperor, and then in forcing his abdication. It is in these acts alone that Napoleon finds reason to call him a dupe and simpleton, because he would not sacrifice the nation to the usurper's ambition. Let those injurious words never be cited without the context, which shows that this monster of unscrupulous selfishness accounted as a simpleton any man who would hesitate to build him a throne on the ruins of a whole people.

But the most cruel attack which has ever been made on the fair fame of Lafayette is that of Lamartine, his copyists and exaggerators, founded on the conspiracies in which he took part against the Bourbon Kings of the restoration. The facts are easy of access and cannot be questioned. When the ministers of Louis XVIII, supported by the royalist party, had made plain their policy of encroaching on popular rights, abolishing the social gains of the revolution, and re-establishing the arbitrary monarchy, and when all constitutional means of resistance were exhausted, Lafayette openly declared that the fundamental compact of political society is mutual in its obligations, and that a King who violates his duties to his people has no claim upon their allegiance. Far from being an abandonment of his

principles and habits, this had been his conviction from boyhood; and in 1792, during his fiercest conflict with the Jacobins, he had written that "all illegitimate power is oppression, and makes resistance a duty." To hold that the cause of freedom must be promoted only under lawful forms, when all laws and governmental forms are but the instruments of oppression, is to consecrate tyranny forever. Lafayette therefore determined that the time had come to organize the vast majority of the nation, who desired and needed self-government, so that they might in due time assume it. To this end the form of the so-called "Carbonari" associations of Italy was adopted, with modifications. The chief task undertaken was to enlighten public opinion, and to bring lovers of freedom into communication, so as to prepare the way for a return to national self-government. Lafayette was the head and life of the movement, but took no steps save in conference with the foremost men of the liberal party in France.

At that time the opponents of the Bourbons were of three classes or parties; the imperialists, who believed that the prestige and glories of a Napoleon were necessary to awaken national spirit and energy; the republicans, who wished in all branches of the government only representatives of the people; and the constitutional monarchists, who thought that freedom and order would be best guaranteed in France by preserving, under the guidance of public opinion and a national assembly, the traditions and forms of a monarchical executive. Lafayette was the head of the last-named party, convinced that a popular and liberal monarchy would best educate the nation to free institutions. But in order that all patriots might act in unison, and throw off the oppressors whom arms had imposed on France, they must agree as to the method of establishing a new government. They could not agree upon the particular form to be adopted; but they were at one in the principle of national sovereignty. It was therefore determined by all these parties to act together in obtaining for the people the power to choose their own government; and when the choice should be made to abide by it and support it. This agreement was solemnly sanctioned by the oath of every man admitted to their counsels.

It is this oath, to secure freedom of choice and self-government for the whole people, and to acquiesce in this choice when made, that has been represented by Alison and others as a criminal conspiracy, in which the foremost statesmen, moralists and patriots of France bound themselves and their followers to the unscrupulous use of any means, however vile, even of private assassination and public anarchy, to achieve their personal

advancement. Let the friends of freedom retort the charge, for the greatest crime that is revealed to us by the historian's pages is his attempt to assassinate the fame of Lafayette. Through the stormy years of the restoration, his conduct was in perfect consistency with the tenor of his earlier life. He resolutely pursued the great end of national freedom, at the hazard of fortune and of life, avowing his convictions and his purpose. When his agents or the friends of his cause were seized and in peril, he stepped forward to assume the responsibility of their deeds. But his generosity was unbounded alike to friends and foes, and he trifled with no interests, no life, but his own. He fearlessly defied the government, when brute force trampled on the people, and awaited its attack in the assured belief that the sacrifice he offered would awaken the storm which must destroy tyranny. The monarchy itself saw that he stood as the representative of the nation, and dared not accept his challenge.

When the time was ripe, the Bourbon monarchy crumbled in a day. Lafayette once more, at the age of seventy-three, was the Commander of the National Guard, and held in his hands the destinies of France. All parties conferred together while France and Europe waited in suspense the result of the negotiations, many still hoping that a rude change of constitution might be averted, and that the King and his advisers might give such guaranties of popular rights as would justify the maintenance of the dynasty. But the traditions of arbitrary power controlled the Court, and confidence was gone. On July 31st, Lafayette issued his proclamation; "reconciliation is impossible, and the royal family has ceased to reign." The nation and the world accepted his decision, and the alternative was placed before him, a republic, with himself as President, or the Constitutional Monarchy for which he had steadfastly contended, with a citizen King. He did not hesitate, but demanded of Louis Philippe the pledge of faithful devotion to national self-government, and placed the crown on his head. The choice of sovereign was the only one then possible. It proved less perfect than the Warwick of liberty desired and hoped, and he lived to see the throne again surrounded by intrigue, and the misguided King engaged in resisting instead of fostering the spirit of freedom. But on the whole the next eighteen years of constitutional peace educated the nation to a higher capacity for self-government, lifted them to a far greater prosperity than they had ever known; and vindicated the statesmanship of his noble self-denial. To Lafayette, more than to any other, belongs the title of Father of Liberty in France.

The character and life of Lafayette, as presented in the records of history, present a problem of the highest interest to us as Americans, and one on which the whole truth has hardly been told. Splendid and unreserved eulogies of his uniform and exalted purity, bravery, firmness, generosity, fidelity and unselfish devotion to the welfare of humanity, are read in the pages of such historians as Mignet, Thiers, Guizot, and many of less name. But not one, even of these, has given an estimate of Lafayette's learning and judgment, of his native powers of mind, his genius as a thinker, his share in the intellectual movement of the age. Yet this is a side of his great nature without which our conception of his manhood is but a torso and our attempts to represent his greatness a mutilation. The evidences which illustrate it are scattered far and wide in the annals of the time. A critical review of them would demand volumes instead of sentences. But it is proper to notice some of the surprises which meet an inquirer into his capacity and efficiency as a leader of thought.

When Lafayette, not yet twenty years of age, dedicated his sword to freedom, his precocity showed itself in the tenacity of his convictions, and in the weight awarded to his views and purposes by men of wise experience, as well as in his military skill and trustworthiness. His expedition to America was regarded by the public as a boyish freak, but none of the sober veterans with whom he counselled failed to recognize his serious purpose, his deliberate survey of the risk, and his manly responsibility. His philosophy of life and society, gathered first in the school of Rousseau, was yet crude; but he cherished it as a religion, for whose truth he must work and suffer, live and die. This earnestness fired his mind, intensified his power of study and reflection as well as his human sympathies, and rapidly formed his permanent beliefs upon the political and social problems before him. He soon defined to himself with scientific precision the nature and limits of the liberty he loved, so that when he returned to France, it was as the representative of a matured system of political thought. No longer the gallant and impetuous knight-errant of an idea which was mostly an impulse, but the sober student of organized society and its needs, he applied himself to the practical business of improving the condition of his fellow-men.

His first effort as a reformer was directed against African slavery. The earliest news of the peace which established our independence came to America in a letter from Lafayette to Washington; and the same letter contains a plan by which he hoped that they two might open the way for gradual emanci-

pation, by purchasing a plantation in a tropical colony at Lafayette's expense, and employing a body of freedmen. The example, he believed, would attract wide attention, the experiment would prove the method practicable; and the effort, perhaps as a public policy, might become general. Washington cordially approved the project; it was undertaken, at great cost and sacrifice, by Lafayette, but was interrupted by the progress of revolution. But his mind and heart were always in the cause; and, by a noticeable coincidence, the last words he ever wrote, a letter of May 1, 1834, to the President of the British Anti-Slavery Society, expressed his glowing desire and hope for universal emancipation. His doctrine, in which he never faltered, was that of Washington and Lincoln; that masters and slaves were alike entitled to respect and sympathy, but that the system must be abolished for the sake of both and of civilization.

He next turned to the oppressed Protestants of France. For a century the law had tolerated no dissent from the church. Louis XVI had taken the coronation oath to exterminate heretics. Protestants had no legal protection for property, no civil life; their marriages were void, their children bastards, their testaments invalid. Lafayette denounced the law and demanded reform, but for a long time alone. The Court, the clergy, the nobility, public opinion, ridiculed him as an unpractical enthusiast. But at length his appeals created a public sentiment which enforced them, the Assembly of notables advised and the King decreed the emancipation of the proscribed sects, and Lafayette in person led to the table of the King's ministers the first Protestant clergyman who had shown his face in Versailles since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Lafayette was not only the first public man in France to call for a representative national assembly, as the one hope of the government and people, but he was the first to guide the assembly into the true work of practical reform. His masterly review of the expenses of the monarchy and its possible economies, and his exposition of the principles of public expenditure, were a revelation, not of boldness only, but of wisdom, to the statesmen of the time. His attention was drawn to the many imprisonments for offences against the revenue, and on investigation, he found the criminal law and its administration alike inefficient, arbitrary and oppressive. The long delays of justice and the indefinite detention of the accused before trial were crying evils, demanding radical legislation. His exposures of these wrongs led to the formation of a public

opinion which slowly but vastly improved the criminal jurisprudence of France.

Lafayette's insight into the defects of government and society, with his native intolerance of wrong, made him the advocate of all true reform; and his enemies and opponents were always ready to charge him with idealism, extravagant hopes, quixotic enterprises, and an absurd faith in human nature. Thus he became the representative champion of a free press, of trial by jury, of the abolition of the hereditary peerage, of a permanent senate, of universal education at the cost of the state, of the mitigation of penal laws, especially for political offences, of the extension of the suffrage to all who have a stake in society, and of the abolition of capital punishment. These ideas, novelties when he embraced them, and decried as the creed of a fanatic, were held by him with unfaltering faith in their ultimate triumph. He lived to see many of them embodied in the permanent legislation of his country and cherished by the free minds of the world. The thoughts which, in his youth, were fresh revelations in philosophy and literature, which had never reached the world of practical statesmanship and social life, were grasped by his mind with the energy of an apostle and a martyr, and the struggle of his whole life was to translate them into action. The intellectual vigor which sees abstract truth as a reality, and is inspired by it to defy and crush the falsehoods of tradition and the shams of custom; which at the same time holds fast the conditions of real life and the safeguards of social order; and which thus gathers from the trees of the past fruit for the nourishment of humanity, not fuel for its sacrifice—this is genius, of the rarest and most precious order, and this was the mental endowment of Lafayette.

Permit me in conclusion to express the personal judgment forced on me, in spite of many historians, by a protracted study of the evidence of which I have given you but brief extracts and specimens. Of all men who have greatly struggled against wrong, who have consecrated noble faculties of mind and heart and vast resources of passion and will to the service of mankind, I find in Lafayette the one who is least adequately depicted on the pages of history, whose fame falls most short of his merits. His career of duty and honor, of self-sacrifice and warfare with oppression, was glorious not only in effort but in achievement, and few lives taken in all their results could have been so ill-spared from the chain of causes which have produced what is best in the modern world. If ever a man's "failings leaned to virtue's side," it was the excess in his enthusiasm

for freedom, in his forgetfulness of selfish prudence, in his generous trustfulness towards others, and in his honorable aspirations for their approval. But his insight into the needs of his time and country, his foresight of the real progress of society and of the means of promoting it, were on the whole unequalled among his contemporaries. First the pupil of Washington, then his adviser and trusted friend, the representative of all that was wise and hopeful in three successive revolutions of France, in advanced life the revered and sage counsellor of Clarkson and Wilberforce in philanthropy, of Bentham in jurisprudence, of Jefferson and Fox in practical statesmanship, of Capo d'Istria, Boyer and Bolivar in the organization of free states and the shaping of constitutions, he proved equal to every position and every demand. To natural endowments worthy to rank with those of great statesmen and warriors, he joined a moral elevation which held him above selfish struggles for power, and entitles him to a nobler laurel of fame than is worn by the brows of Pitt or Napoleon.

He was the first public man in the world to recognize to the full the greatness of Washington. In 1784 he wrote: "Never before had all that is great and good been united in one man; never had lived the man on whom soldier, statesman, patriot and philosopher alike must look with equal admiration." The final judgment of history, I am confident, will adopt this eulogy, and will place by his side Lafayette, as second to him and to none beside him, in heroic worth and merited fame.

APPENDIX "A."

LETTERS FROM RELATIVES OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

Edwin A. Barber, Esqr., New York, August 8, 1894.
West Chester, Pa.

Dear Sir:

Your note inviting me to be present at the erecting of a stone intended to mark the spot where my great-grandfather was wounded at the Brandywine, was forwarded to me here and I beg of you to excuse the delay in my reply.

It was very gratifying to me to receive this invitation from the Chester County Historical Society and it gives me great pleasure to accept it.

I hope you will be so kind as to let me know, a few days in advance, at the enclosed address, [806 18th street, Washington, D. C.,] the exact place where the exercises are to be held on September 11th, and also the hour at which they are to begin.

I am, dear sir, very truly yours,

CHAMBRUN.

[Absence from the United States at the date of the exercises of dedication prevented the attendance of this distinguished guest.]

La Grange,
Coupalay,
Seine-et-Marne,
August 20th, '95.

James Monaghan, Esq.,
West Chester, Pa.
Dear Sir:

I am greatly touched at your kind thought of me, and the cordial invitation of the Chester County Historical Society is a most tempting one to accept. Unfortunately circumstances over which I have no control will oblige me to decline; and most unwillingly I find myself compelled to forego the pleasure of assisting at the memorial shaft to the memory of my great-grandfather, the General de Lafayette.

Believe me, dear sir, yours truly,
LASTEYRIE.

Toul, 17 Aout, 1895.

M. James Monaghan,
West Chester, Pa.
Cher Monsieur,

C'est avec un vif regret que je me vois obligé de décliner l'honorable invitation que la Société Historique du Comte de Chester, en Pennsylvanie, veut bien m'adresser.

J'aurais été heureux d'assister á l'érection du monument commémoratif de la bataille de Brandywine; mais il m'est absolument impossible de quitter la France. Je vous prie de vouloir bien transmettre á Messieurs les Membres de la Société, avec tous mes remerciements, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

SAHUNE LAFAYETTE.

[Translation: It is with great regret that I find myself obliged to decline the honorable invitation which the Historical Society of Chester County, Pennsylvania, has been good enough to send me.

I should have been happy to assist in the erection of a monument commemorative of the battle of Brandywine; but it is absolutely impossible for me to leave France. I pray you to kindly transmit to the gentlemen members of the society, with many thanks, the expression of my most hearty regards.]

APPENDIX "B."

EVIDENCE AS TO PLACE WHERE LAFAYETTE WAS WOUNDED.

Lafayette, in his Memoirs, p. 23: "M. de Lafayette, as volunteer, had always accompanied the General [Washington]. The left wing [at Chadd's Ford] remaining in a state of tranquility and the right appearing fated to receive all the heavy blows, he obtained permission to join Sullivan. At his arrival, which seemed to inspirit the troops, he found that, the enemy having crossed the ford [Jefferis], the corps of Sullivan had scarcely had time to form itself on a line in front of the thinly wooded

forest. A few moments after, Lord Cornwallis formed in the finest order, advancing across the plain, his first line opened a brisk fire of musketry and artillery; the Americans returned the fire and did much injury to the enemy; but their right and left wings having given way, the generals and several officers joined the central division in which were M. de Lafayette and Stirling, and of which 800 men were commanded in a most brilliant manner by Conway, an Irishman, in the service of France. By separating that division from its two wings, and advancing through an open plain, in which they lost many men, the enemy united all his fire upon the center; the confusion became extreme; and it was whilst M. de Lafayette was rallying the troops that a ball passed through his leg—at that moment all those remaining on the field gave way. M. de Lafayette was indebted to Gimat, his aide-de-camp, for the happiness of getting on his horse. General Washington arrived from a distance with fresh troops; M. de Lafayette was preparing to join him when loss of blood obliged him to stop and have his wound bandaged; he was even very near being taken. Fugitives, cannon and baggage now crowded without order into the road leading to Chester. The General employed the remaining daylight in checking the enemy; some regiments behaved extremely well, but the disorder was complete. During that time the ford of Chadd was forced, the cannon taken and the Chester road became the common retreat of the whole army. In the midst of that dreadful confusion and during the darkness of the night, it was impossible to recover; but at Chester, twelve miles from the field of battle, they met with a bridge which it was necessary to cross; M. de Lafayette occupied himself in arresting the fugitives; some degree of order was re-established; the generals and the commander-in-chief arrived; and he had leisure to have his wound dressed."

Chastellux,* in his Travels in North America, p. 235, after a visit to the battlefield with Lafayette in 1780 [for an account of which see Appendix C]: "Another officer was sent who reported that Cornwallis had changed his direction, and that he was rapidly advancing by the road leading to Jefferries Ford, two miles higher than Birmingham Church. General Sullivan was immediately ordered to march thither with all the troops of the right. Unfortunately the roads were badly reconnoitred, and not at all open; with great difficulty General Sullivan got through the woods, and when he came out of them to gain a small eminence near Birmingham Church, he found the English columns mounting it on the opposite side. It was no easy matter to range into order of battle such troops as his; he had neither time to choose his position nor to form his line. The English gained the eminence, drove the Americans back on the woods, to the edge of which they pursued them, and they were totally dispersed.

"During the short time which this action lasted, Lord Stirling and General Conway had time to form their brigade on pretty advantageous

* For brief sketch of Chastellux, see Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, p. 513.

ground; it was a gentle rising, partly covered by the woods which bounded it; their left was protected by the same woods, and on the right of this rising ground, but a little in the rear, was the Virginia line, who were ranged in line of battle, on a high spot of ground, and on the edge of an open wood. The left column of the enemy, who had not been engaged with Sullivan, formed rapidly, and marched against these troops with as much order as vivacity and courage. The Americans made a very smart fire, which did not check the English, and it was not till the latter were within twenty yards of them, that they gave way and threw themselves into the woods. Lord Stirling, M. de Lafayette and General Sullivan himself, after the defeat of his division, fought with this body of troops, whose post was the most important, and made the longest resistance. It was here that M. de Lafayette was wounded in his left leg, in rallying the troops who were beginning to stagger. On the right, the Virginia line made some resistance; but the English had gained a height, from whence their artillery took them en écharpe: this fire must have been very severe, for most of the trees bear the mark of bullets or cannon shot. The Virginians in their turn gave way, and the right was then entirely uncovered. . . . .

"Such is the idea I have formed of the battle of Brandywine from what I have heard from General Washington himself, from M. de Lafayette, Messieurs de Gimat, and de Mauduit, and from the Generals Wayne and Sullivan. I must observe however that there is a disagreement in some particulars. . . . I was obliged therefore to draw my conclusions from different narratives, and to follow none of them implicitly."

Joseph J. Lewis, in his History of Chester County, published in the Village Record of 1824, and republished in the Record in 1894: "Here [at Sullivan's position on the right] the Americans first gave way, leaving the flank unprotected and exposed to a very galling fire. Their flight afforded the enemy great advantage over the remaining divisions, which continued to break from the right until the whole line was completely routed. A few regiments afterwards rallied and renewed the battle but being briskly charged again gave way and retreated in great disorder. At this stand for a few minutes was some very hard fighting. Washington himself was present with [?] Marquis de Lafayette, and it was here the Marquis received the wound in his leg." Mr. Lewis then proceeds to narrate the movement of Gen. Greene's forces and their stand "at a narrow defile, strongly secured on its right and left by thick and heavy woods."

George Bancroft, in his History of the United States, after passing a day on the battlefield, page 397: "Their flight [of Sullivan's troops] exposed the flank of Stirling and Stephen. These two divisions, only half as numerous as their assailants, in spite of the 'unofficer-like behavior' of Stephen [Washington's charge against Stephen before the court-martial], fought in good earnest, using their artillery from a distance, their muskets only when the enemy was within forty paces; but, under the vigorous charge of the Hessians and British grenadiers, who vied

with each other in fury as they ran forward with the bayonet, the American line continued to break from the right. Conway's brigade resisted well; Sullivan, so worthless as a general, * showed personal courage; Lafayette, present as a volunteer, braved danger, and, though wounded in the leg while rallying the fugitives, bound up the wound as he could, and kept the field till the close of the battle. The third Virginia regiment, commanded by Marshall and stationed apart in a wood, held out until both its flanks were turned and half its officers and one-third its men were killed or wounded.

"Howe seemed likely to get in the rear of the Continental army and complete its overthrow. But at the sound of the cannon on the right, taking with him Greene and the two brigades of Muhlenberg and Weedon, which lay nearest the scene of action, Washington marched swiftly to the support of the wing that had been confided to Sullivan, and in about forty minutes met them in full retreat. His approach checked the pursuit. Cautiously making a new disposition of his forces Howe again pushed forward, driving the party with Greene till they came upon a strong position, chosen by Washington, which completely commanded the road, and which a regiment of Virginians under Stevens and another of Pennsylvanians under Stewart were able to hold till night-fall. . .

"The battle seemed to be over. Night was falling, when two battalions of British grenadiers under Meadow and Moncton received orders to occupy a cluster of houses on a hill beyond Dilworthtown. They marched carelessly, the officers with sheathed swords. At fifty paces from the first house they were surprised by a deadly fire from Maxwell's corps, which lay in ambush to cover the American retreat. The British officers sent for help, but were nearly routed before General Agnew could bring up a sufficient force to their relief. The Americans then withdrew and darkness ended the contest."

Village Record, Aug. 3, 1825, Charles Miner, editor: "At Dilworthtown a large concourse of people had gathered; here the procession halted ten minutes, and then turning off to the left proceeded to the main battle ground. 'Show me,' said the General, 'where is the meeting house.' When they came fully in view and it was pointed out to him, 'Oh,' said he, 'it is here,' and immediately rose on his feet and addressing himself in French to his son and companions, spoke animatedly for some time, pointing out the different positions of the two armies. Everything was now familiar to him. The position of Colonel McClellan was near him when wounded; the spot the General pointed out in the cornfield of Jacob Bennett [now Mrs. Biddle's lawn], a little east and south of where the road from the meeting house comes in at right angles with the east and west road."

American Republican, Aug. 3, 1825, account prepared by a member of the committee of arrangements: "On the high grounds immediately south and south-east of the meeting house, the General recognized the

* The clause "so worthless as a general" was omitted from the last edition.

position where the Americans were drawn up to oppose the progress of that division of the enemy which had crossed the Brandywine by the circuitous route of Jefferis' Ford; and he designated those grounds as the place where he received the wound which forever endeared him to the American people."

George Morris Philips, principal of the West Chester State Normal School, and president of the Chester County Historical Society, states that, some years ago, when he was attending a meeting at Birmingham meeting house he heard an old Friend (whose name he did not know) state that he saw Lafayette on his visit here in 1825 point out the rising ground south of and in sight of the meeting house as the place where he was wounded.

J. Smith Futhey, in Futhey & Cope's History of Chester County (1881): "The place where Lafayette was wounded, as pointed out by himself in 1825, was on the high ground a little north-west of the frame public school house [not now standing], and south-east of the present residence of John Bennett. It occurred while Washington in person and the worthy young Frenchman were endeavoring to rally some retreating regiments. Some hard fighting took place at this point."

Benson J. Lossing, in his Field Book of the Revolution, after visiting the ground, p. 386 (1848): "About half-way between the meeting house and Dilworth, and one hundred rods westward of the road, in a field belonging to Mr. Bennett, is the place where Lafayette was wounded."

Howard M. Jenkins, in Lippincott's Magazine for Sept. 11, 1877, vol. 20, p. 338: "It is said that Greene opened his lines, received the fugitives from the front, and re-formed. Possibly this took place at the second position. It is certain that here the British advance was sharply checked, and the Americans stubbornly held their ground until late in the afternoon. It was at this turn in the battle that Lafayette was wounded and not in the first encounter, as the current historical narrative would give us to understand. A survey of the map ascertains very precisely the place where he was shot, according to abundant testimony, and this is more than a mile distant from Sullivan's lines. It is very unlikely that Lafayette was in the first encounter, beyond the meeting house. He probably arrived on the field with Washington, or he may possibly have accompanied Greene. The place where he was wounded is a field about half-way from the meeting house to Dilworth, southwest of the road and about a hundred rods away. Trustworthy accounts say he was with Washington at the time, both engaged in rallying the troops; and this is quite likely; the place is only a little distance westward from the point to which Joseph Brown guided the general. In July, 1825, when Lafayette visited the ground, he drove up from Wilmington in a carriage with the Messrs. Dupont, whom he had been visiting. Great crowds accompanied him over the historic field, and as he drove along the road near the place already described, the carriage was stopped and the gallant old gentleman rose to his feet to point out the position in which he

sustained his wound. 'It is,' he said, 'somewhere on yonder slope. The exact spot I cannot now tell.'"

Gilbert Cope, Secretary of the Chester County Historical Society, who read the Historical Address above, has prepared the following additional notes:

Nathan Y. Jester, of Dilworthtown, then aged about 17, was present when Lafayette visited the battlefield in 1825, and was near the carriage of the distinguished visitor when the latter pointed out the spot where he was wounded. To a committee of the Chester County Historical Society he indicated the spot where the carriage stood on that occasion, and near there a temporary marker was erected by the side of the road from Birmingham meeting house to Dilworthtown, perhaps fifty rods beyond Sandy Hollow. It was proposed to place the memorial shaft at that point, and the inscription was framed to suit that location. It is however equally adapted to its present location.

Ziba Darlington, late of West Chester, deceased, pointed out to the writer, some thirty years ago, the identical spot indicated by Nathan Y. Jester.

Chalkley Harvey, now deceased, late of Chads' Ford, writing to the American Republican, July 3, 1872, says: "I distinctly recollect seeing Lafayette, whilst seated in a carriage, on the occasion referred to, in company with his son, and I think, Messrs. V. and E. I. Dupont, point out the ground upon which he was wounded. I, with two young relatives, A. Harvey and the late Elijah Hollingsworth, of Wilmington, Delaware, and Abram Huey, now of Birmingham, were perched on a fence by the roadside, under a clump of young chestnut trees, where his coach, which was drawn by four gray horses, halted. Lafayette arose, and after scanning the landscape before him for a few minutes, said, I think in these words: 'Somewhere upon that slope I was wounded,' at the same time extending his out-spread hand toward a piece of land in John Bennett's field, which is a full half-mile south from the meeting house." This possibly refers to the same spot as that indicated by the two preceding witnesses.

Henry Bennett, the present owner of the Bennett farm, quotes his father, John Bennett (who was born in 1801 and died in 1883) as having been informed by Capt. M'Clellan where the latter made his last stand near the close of the fight, and at a considerable distance to the southward of "Sandy Hollow." He also thinks that Capt. M'Clellan intimated that Lafayette was wounded near the same spot.

My suggestion is that as Lafayette approached the scene of the battle forty-eight years after its occurrence, when the face of the country had changed considerably, and coming by way of Dilworthtown, he thought he recognized the spot where he was wounded on the hill to the southward of Sandy Hollow. Proceeding on the road to Birmingham Meeting he appears, according to the published statements at the time, to have recognized the true location after coming in sight of that building.

Lafayette's Memoirs indicate that he was wounded before the arrival of Washington, and if Sullivan's statement, that the fight continued an hour and forty minutes in sight of the meeting house, be accepted, this and other evidence would lead us to believe that Washington's arrival was prior to the retreat from the hill.

In connection with the battle of Brandywine a misapprehension has arisen from supposing that the ford, afterward known as Wistar's (now Lenape) bore that name in 1777. John Brinton was then in possession on the west side of the stream, and his persistent defiance of the British troops by whom he was arrested brought upon him much abuse. The property was sold by the sheriff, in 1782, to John Franklin, a merchant, of Philadelphia and New York city, who conveyed it to his brother-in-law, Caspar Wistar in 1785. There is evidence that the latter was not there until 1784. The ford was known as Jones' in 1777, from the Jones family by whom the mill on the east side was built in 1759.

APPENDIX "C."

LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO THE BRANDYWINE IN 1780.

From Chastellux's Travels in North America, p. 233: "The 6th [of December, 1780], M. de Lafayette, the Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, the Chevalier du Plessis Mauduit, Messieurs de Gimat and De Neville, aids-de-camp of M. de Lafayette, M. de Montesquieu, Mr. Lynch and myself set out to visit the field of Brandywine, thirty miles from Philadelphia. M. de Lafayette had not seen it since, at the age of twenty, separating from his wife, his friends, the pleasures of the world, and those of youth, at the distance of three thousand miles, he there shed the first drop of blood he offered to glory, or rather to that noble cause he has invariably supported with the same zeal but with better fortune. We passed the Schuylkill at the same ferry where Mr. Du Coudray was drowned in 1777. * We there discerned the traces of some intrenchments thrown up by the English after they became masters of Philadelphia; then turning to the left, we rode on fourteen miles to the little town of Chester. It is built at the junction of the creek of that name with the Delaware, and is a sort of port where vessels coming up the river sometimes anchor. The houses, to the number of forty or fifty, are handsome and built of stone or brick. On leaving Chester, and on the road to Brandywine, we pass the stone bridge where M. de Lafayette, wounded as he was, stopped the fugitives, and made the first disposition for rallying them behind the creek. The country beyond it has nothing particular but resembles the rest of Pennsylvania, that is to say, is interspersed with woods and cultivated lands. It was too late when we came within reach of the field of battle, and as we could see nothing till next morning, and were too numerous to remain together, it was necessary to separate into two divisions. Messieurs de Gimat, De Mauduit, and my

* Described in Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, page 385.

aids-de-camp, staid with me at the inn, three miles this side of the Brandywine ; and M. de Lafayette, attended by the other travellers, went further on to ask for quarters at a Quaker's, called Benjamin Ring [?], at whose house he lodged with General Washington the night before the battle. I joined him early the next morning and found him in great friendship with his host, who, Quaker as he was, seemed delighted to entertain the Marquis. We got on horseback at nine, provided with a plan, executed under the direction of General Howe, and engraved in England, but we got more information from the American Major, with whom M. de Lafayette had appointed a place of meeting. This officer was present at the engagement, and his house being on the field of battle, he knew it better than anybody. Whilst we were examining the field of battle with the greatest minuteness, our servants went on to Chester to prepare dinner and apartments and we soon followed them and got there at 4 o'clock." [Query : Was "the American Major" Persifor Frazer?]

Lafayette's Visit to Chester County in 1825.

Gen. Lafayette arrived in New York, on Sunday, August 15, 1824. The news did not reach West Chester until Tuesday, Aug. 17th. Court was then in session. Two volunteer companies of infantry, the Washington Guards, under command of Capt. Lauer, and the Wayne Guards, under command of Capt. Fleming, had met for the purpose of a parade and discipline. The military under the command of Capt. Lauer greeted the receipt of the news of General Lafayette's arrival by firing a salute and by hearty cheers. Soon after, soldiers and citizens collected in the court room. Col. Joseph McClellan, a captain in the Continental army and who had served in the Light Infantry corps of Gen. Lafayette, was made chairman, and Gen. Isaac D. Barnard, secretary. Judge Darlington addressed the meeting and offered a resolution providing for a meeting of the citizens of Chester county to be held at the court house on the 28th of August at eleven o'clock A. M., to make arrangements for a reception of the venerable patriot, if he should visit the county. At the meeting on the 28th, Hon. Isaac Darlington was appointed chairman and Gen. John W. Cunningham, secretary. A committee was appointed to prepare resolutions. The resolutions, on behalf of the citizens of Chester county, after expressing their joy at the arrival of General Lafayette and a grateful sense of the service rendered by him to the Republic, designated a committee, consisting of Col. Joseph McClellan, Col. Jacob Humphrey, Col. Isaac Wayne, Dr. Jacob Ehrenzeller, Col. Cromwell Pearce, Gen. Isaac D. Barnard, Gen. John W. Cunningham, Dr. William Darlington, Gen. Joshua Evans and Abraham Bailey, Esq., to wait upon the General immediately upon his arrival in Philadelphia, and to invite him to visit Chester county, and, in case of his acceptance, to make arrangements for his reception, in conjunction with a similar committee from Delaware county. On July 18th, 1825, the committee gave notice, published on the 20th in the newspapers, that Gen. Lafayette had accepted the invitation and would visit the county

on July 26th. The military of the 3d Division were invited to co-operate. Maj. Gen. Isaac D. Barnard at the same time issued and published orders for the several regiments, independent battalions and companies of volunteers of the 3d Division to assemble at 9 o'clock in the morning to receive the distinguished guest. Special orders were issued by Col. Darlington, J. Shearer, adjutant, of the First Regiment, Chester County Volunteers; by Major Morton, Hiram Armstrong, adjutant, of the Jackson Volunteer Battallion; and by Capt. Pearce, John Maxwell, F. S., of the Junior Artillerists, ordering these organizations to report at Liberty Grove, at 9 o'clock A. M., July 26th, prepared to march to the battlefield of the Brandywine to meet General Lafayette and escort him to West Chester. Volunteer Corps in the vicinity not attached to any volunteer regiment or battalion were invited to join the First Regiment on this occasion—each company to make its own arrangements for accommodations and refreshments.

Early in the morning of July 26th, Gen. Lafayette was waited upon at Messrs. Dupont, with whom he had lodged, by Gen. John W. Cunningham, one of the committee of arrangements, attended by Samson Babb and William Williamson, two of the marshals of the day, by whom he was conducted to Chads' Ford.* The General was accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, M. La Vasseur, his secretary, M. Bauduois, a distinguished lawyer from Paris, the Messrs. Dupont, Messrs. Louis McLane and N. G. Williamson, committee from Wilmington, and Messrs. Lewis, Tilghman and Biddle, committee of Councils from Philadelphia. On coming to the Brandywine near Chads' Ford, the General remarked: "It could not be here we crossed; it must have been further up." He was right.

The party reached Chad's Ford about 11 o'clock A. M., where they were met by the committees of Chester and Delaware counties, headed by their respective chairmen, Col. Joseph McClellan and Capt. William Anderson. All of the Chester county reception committee were present here excepting Dr. Ehrenzeller and Dr. Darlington, the latter having charge of the First Regiment of Chester County Volunteers, stationed at West Chester to receive the visitors. At this place also Maj. Gen. Isaac D. Barnard and his aids, Col. Leiper and Daniel Buckwalter, attended by Brigadier Generals Evans and Stanley and their aids, in full uniform, also the Chester County troop of Cavalry, commanded by Lieut. Thos. Jones, and the Delaware county troop of Cavalry commanded by Capt. Thos. Vanleer, the whole under the command of Maj. Wilson, were in waiting to escort the General over the battlefield. Jesse Sharp, Chief Marshal, with his aids, Thomas H. B. Jacobs and Jesse Conard, and Assistant Marshals Samson Babb, William Williamson, Joshua Hunt, Thomas H. Brinton, Joshua McMinn, Isaac Trimble, David Potts, Jr., Richard Walker, Jonathan Jones and Joseph P. McClellan, also attended, to regulate the movement of the great concourse of citizens, in carriages, on

* "Chads' Ford" is the correct spelling: Judge Futhey, Republican, Sept. 28, 1875.

horseback, and on foot, who had gathered at this point, eager to see and welcome the nation's guest.

The General received the greetings of the people and viewed the heights around Chads' Ford, and the field where the armies encamped the night before the battle, and pointed out the positions of Generals Wayne and Maxwell's brigades. He inquired if any one could indicate where the bridge of rails was across the Brandywine, but no one was able to give the information. He then resumed his seat in his barouche, with his companion in arms, Col. McClellan, by his side, and the procession, which had been formed, advanced towards Painter's cross roads. About a mile from the ford, the General stopped and alighted from his carriage, to see Gideon Gilpin, a very aged man, confined to his bed, at whose house the General had made his headquarters before the battle. The sick man was gratified at the sight of the veteran, who pressed his hand warmly and wished him every blessing.

At Dilworthtown a large concourse of people had gathered; here the procession halted ten minutes, and then, turning off to the left, proceeded to the main battlefield. "Show me," said the General, "where is the meeting house." When they came fully in view and it was pointed out to him, "Oh," said he, "it is here," and he immediately rose on his feet, and addressing himself in French to his son and companions, spoke animatedly for some time, pointing out the different positions of the two armies. Everything was now familiar to him. The position of Col. McClellan was near him when wounded; the spot the General pointed out in the cornfield of Jacob Bennett [now Mrs. Biddle's lawn], a little east and south of where the road from the meetinghouse comes in at right angles with the east and west road. [For further evidence on this question see appendix "B."]

The procession after a little time moved to the meetinghouse where an immense number of people had convened to receive him. After viewing the ground here, the General, his companions and friends, alighted at the mansion of Samuel Jones, to which they had been previously invited, and partook of refreshments provided for the occasion. Here were shown to the General a large number of bullets and other relics of the conflict, found and collected by Abraham Darlington, Jr.

The Village Record of Aug. 3, 1825, after detailing the above events, says: "The visit to the ground was exceedingly interesting to Lafayette. The universal welcome given him, the association of ideas, his companions in arms, coming vividly to his recollection; it was here he first met danger, and received a wound in defence of the cause he had espoused—the hour of suffering was past and the hour of triumph had come; he was sensibly affected."

After resting half an hour, the trumpet sounded to horse and the procession moved on to Strode's mill over the ground on which Howe and Cornwallis had advanced to the battle, and thence by the right, to Darlington's Woods (now Smedley Darlington's), near the western line of the borough. Here the volunteers of the Third Division were drawn up,

agreeably to the orders of Major General Barnard, to receive the General and escort him into town. These consisted of the First Regiment of Chester County Volunteers, commanded by Col. William Darlington—to which were attached Capt. Fleming's Company of Wayne Guards, Capt. Wiley's Company of Franklin Guards, and Maj. Elton's Corps of Riflemen, the Chester County Union Volunteer Battalion, commanded by Lieut. Col. McDowell, and the Jackson Volunteer Battalion, commanded by Maj. Morton—to which Capt. Stewart's independent company of volunteers was attached—the whole together comprising seventeen companies of volunteers, including the two troops of cavalry. On the approach of Lafayette, a salute of thirteen guns was fired by the Republican Artillerists of Chester county, under the command of Lieut. Col. Evans, and the troops then wheeled into column ; the First Regiment preceded the immediate escort of the General, and the Battalions of McDowell and Morton taking their positions in the rear. Thus arranged, the whole procession moved into the borough under command of Gen. Barnard, by way of the present Rosedale avenue, to High street, at the State Normal School, and thence up High street. The cavalcade of citizens in the rear was conducted by Chief Marshal Jesse Sharp, and his aids and assistants whose names have already been given.

The crowd which had gathered here was immense. It is estimated that there were not less than ten thousand persons present. The heart of the General was deeply touched. As he rode through the throngs that filled the streets he was heard frequently to exclaim " Happy people ! Happy people !"

The procession passed up High street to Market, down Market to Walnut, up Walnut to Gay, up Gay to High, down High to Market, up Market to Church, up Church to Gay, down Gay to High, and out High to a field of Jesse Matlack, on the hill east of the Friends' meetinghouse. Here the troops were reviewed by General Lafayette, on foot, who expressed his great satisfaction at their appearance and soldier-like behavior. He then passed in his barouche in front of several hundred mounted citizens, formed in the same field under the direction of the chief marshal, and was then conducted by the committee to the residence of Ziba Pyle, the chief burgess, at the north-east corner of Gay and Church streets. The troops wheeled into column and returned into the town, where they gave the marching salute as they passed the General at his quarters, and they were then dismissed. It is believed that " Lafayette street," in this neighborhood, took its name from this occasion.

After a brief repose, the General and his companions were conducted to the grand jury room in the court house, which had been tastefully decorated by the ladies for the occasion, and where a dinner had been provided by Eber Worthington, the proprietor of the Turk's Head hotel. The entertainment was attended by the committees of arrangement and a limited number of invited guests, with General Lafayette and his friends, in all about forty persons. The sun was getting low when the party repaired to the court house.

Main

THOS. SULLY, PINXT. PHILA. ENGRAVING CO. THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WIL., DEL.

LAFAYETTE.

From a portrait painted by Sully in 1824 for the City of Philadelphia, now in Independence Hall. Size, heroic. The figures in the background are the City Troop, who acted as special escort for Gen. Lafayette on his visit to Philadelphia in 1824-5.

Sully's study for the above portrait is in the possession of Mr. Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia, through whose courtesy the Chester County Historical Society has received a photographic copy.

When the company had assembled at the table, his old comrade in the Revolution, the venerable Col. Joseph McClellan, rose, and, on behalf of the committee of reception, addressed the honored guest as follows:

"General: It is our happiness to be appointed, by our fellow-citizens, to greet you upon your visit to the scenes of your youthful gallantry, on the banks of the Brandywine, and to bid you a sincere and cordial welcome to the bosom of our county. Language, indeed, can but feebly portray the joyous and grateful emotions with which we behold amongst us, after a lapse of eight and forty years, the illustrious friend of human rights, who relinquished the endearments of his domestic circle in a distant land, to aid the fathers of our country in their struggle for independence, and who, on this ground, sealed with his blood his devotion to the cause of American liberty.

"In you, sir, we recognize, with the profoundest respect and veneration, the early, disinterested and steadfast champion of our glorious Revolution—the companion of our Washington, our Wayne, and their gallant compatriots in arms—the youthful volunteer, who shared the toils of our fathers to secure the blessings of Republican freedom to our land, and who, by the favor of heaven, has been preserved to witness the happiness and receive the benedictions of their grateful offspring.

"We exult in the contemplation of a character whose pure, intrepid, and uniform devotion to the rights of man, has been equally conspicuous in the battle-fields of the western, and in the councils, the courts, and the dungeons, of the eastern hemisphere.

"We rejoice that a signal opportunity has been afforded to our countrymen to repel the slander of despots, and their hirelings, that republics are ungrateful; and although the plain and unpretending citizens of the ancient county of Chester do not presume to vie with their brethren of our opulent towns and cities, in the splendor of your reception, yet we flatter ourselves that you will receive, with your wonted kindness, the spontaneous and unaffected homage of a happy community, who welcome you with eyes beaming with reverence and delight, and hearts filled with the purest sentiments of gratitude and affection."

To which General Lafayette made the following reply:

"While I have with unbounded gratitude enjoyed the fondly anticipated happiness to meet in this town the citizens of the county of Chester, and the additional pleasure to be here most kindly welcomed in the name of the people by an old companion in arms, I have also to acknowledge the affectionate greetings that have this day hailed your brother soldier on the grounds of one of our most important battles.

"Although, owing to some accidental occurrences, victory was not that day on our side, the manner in which it was disputed by our patriotic troops did, no doubt, contribute to inspire several of the British leaders with a spirit of caution more than once beneficial to us. The thought of its having been my first action under the American standard, and our great and good commander-in-chief, in company with your gallant Chester-county-man, my friend Gen. Wayne, and my other comrades,—the

honor to have mingled my blood with that of many other American soldiers on the heights of the Brandywine—had been to me a source of pride and delight, near half a century before it has lately become an occasion of the most honorable, kind, and gratifying remembrance; as it is now an object of your friendly congratulations.

"Happy I am, also, in your testimonies of affection and esteem, for my conduct in the vicissitudes of my life, on both hemispheres; and I beg you, my dear sir, and you, gentlemen of the committee, to accept in your own name, and in behalf of the people of Chester county, my affectionate and respectful acknowledgments."

Rev. Wm. Latta then asked the following blessing: "Almighty God, our heavenly Father, we give thee thanks for the great and distinguished blessings which, as a nation, we enjoy, and which are brought impressively to our recollection by the occurrences of this day. We thank thee that thou wert pleased to infuse a love of liberty into the bosoms of our fathers, and, while yet in our infancy, to inspire them with courage and fortitude to undertake its accomplishment. We thank thee that this spirit was carried into a foreign land, and that thou wert pleased to put it into the heart of thy servant, with whose presence we are now favored, to visit these distant shores, and, embarking in our fortunes, generously to lend his aid in effecting our independence. We thank thee that, amidst the multiplied dangers and trials which he has since encountered, thou hast spared his precious life; and that, after a lapse of so many years, thou hast permitted him once more to revisit these shores, to receive the grateful tribute of an affectionate people, and to witness the rich fruits of that liberty which he was so instrumental in achieving. May thy blessing still go with him; and when he bids a final adieu to this land, which has shared so richly of his blood and of his toils, may the winds and the waves be rendered propitious to his return, and, in due time, may he be carried in safety to the bosom of his beloved family, to spend his declining years in tranquility and ease, and may he, at last, go down to the grave in peace, to receive honors infinitely greater than have been, or ever can be, awarded to him here. On the day of final account, may he be found among the ransomed of the Lord, and, rising in the triumph of our blessed Redeemer, be put in possession of a crown which shall never fade away.

"Command thy blessing, O Lord, upon each of us here assembled on this interesting occasion. May we recognize thy hand in every blessing, feel our obligations for every enjoyment, and our responsibility for all our conduct. Bless our social intercourse on this occasion, help us to order our conduct aright before thee, forgive us our sins and graciously accept us, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

When the dinner was concluded, the following toasts and sentiments were drank, accompanied by the music of the band belonging to Captain Joseph Pierce's company of Junior Artillerists:

REGULAR TOASTS.

1. Our Country: Blest with the oldest legitimate government now in existence. Music, *Hail Columbia.*

2. The President of the United States. *President's March.*

3. The Governor of Pennsylvania. *Governor's March.*

4. The Memory of the Father of his Country. *Roslin Castle.*

5. The Heroes and Statesmen of our Revolution. *Washington's March.*

6. The late Presidents of the United States: Enjoying in their dignified retirement the benedictions of a free and grateful people. What a lesson to the occupants and supporters of thrones! *In the downhill of Life.*

7. The "Nation's Guest:" While our Country reveres and lauds her Washington, and our County justly boasts of her Wayne, the votaries of rational liberty, in both hemispheres, claim an interest in Lafayette. Cheers: *Marseilles Hymn.*

[When this toast was drank, the General rose, and, after thanking the committee for the honor done him, proposed the following, which was cordially greeted by the company:

By General Lafayette: The County of Chester, and the Memory of her gallant citizen, Gen. Wayne: May the blood spilled by thousands with equal merit in the cause of independence and freedom, be to the ensuing generations an eternal pledge of unalloyed republicanism, federal union, public prosperity, and domestic happiness. Music, *Stony Point.*]

8. The 11th of September, 1777: A day consecrated to liberty by the blood of her votaries on the banks of the Brandywine; though the sacrifice was great, the reward was rich indeed. *Auld lang Syne.**

---

*When the 8th toast was drank, the following song was volunteered by Doctor Darlington:

LAFAYETTE AT BRANDYWINE.

Tune, *Auld lang Syne.*

Should days of trial be forgot,
Although those days have fled?
Can we neglect the sacred spot,
Where patriot heroes bled?
Ah, no! those days of auld lang syne,
We never can forget,
When, with our sires, to Brandywine,
Came gallant Lafayette.

By Brandywine's enchanting stream,
Our swains in peace abode,
Until the tyrant's minions came
To stain its banks with blood.
And oh! those days, &c.

To meet the foemen on the plain,
Each patriot onward press'd;
And there, with Washington and Wayne,
Appear'd our honor'd Guest.
Those anxious days, &c.

9. The amiable Family of La Grange : Who possess the only prior claim we can ever recognize to the person of our illustrious friend and benefactor. *Life let us cherish.*

10. The Army and Navy of the United States : The shield and buckler of the nation, wielded only in defence of its just rights.

Yankee Doodle.

11. Bolivar : Great is the character which he has to sustain, for he has nobly acquired that of "the Washington of the South."

Hail to the Chief.

12. Greece : May her sons be animated with the spirit of their ancestors, until she is restored to her ancient liberty and grandeur. *Ca ira.*

13. The American Fair : Whose virtues adorn the republic, and whose smiles reward its benefactors. *Green grow the Rashes O.*

VOLUNTEER TOASTS.

By the Hon. Isaac Wayne.—The People of the United States : May they ever feel grateful for that protecting hand which has safely conducted, to each of the twenty-four states of their union, the gallant defender, the early and steady benefactor of their country—the nation's guest—the good, amiable, and intelligent Lafayette.

By Capt. William Anderson.—The genuine Republican, General Lafayette : Who has in all, and the most trying situations, adhered to and promoted the cause of liberty.

By Gen. John W. Cunningham.—The Memory of Washington : In the cabinet, and in the field, we ne'er shall look upon his like again.

By Ziba Pyle, Esq., (Chief Burgess of West Chester).—General Lafayette : His visits to Chester county in 1777 and 1825 will be held in grateful remembrance by its citizens.

By Brigadier Gen. Joshua Evans.—Our honored Guest : In his youth, he shed his blood on the banks of the Brandywine, in defence of American liberty ; and in his old age, he will be borne on the grateful bosom of "The Brandywine," † to the embraces of his family.

By Doctor Wm. Darlington.—The fields of the Brandywine : Irrigated, on the Cadmean system of agriculture, with the blood of Revolutionary patriots, the teeming crop must ever be independent freemen.

And there he bore him in the van,
Where Washington still led;
And to sustain the rights of man,
The youthful warrior bled.
Those fearful days, &c.

Then, long as our romantic stream
Shall roll its silver wave,
Its vales shall echo with the name
Of Lafayette, the brave.
For ah! those days of auld lang syne,
We never can forget,
When, with our sires, to Brandywine,
Came gallant Lafayette.

† The name of the vessel which conveyed Gen. Lafayette to France.

By the Hon. Louis M'Lane, of Delaware.—The battle ground we have viewed to-day: Whether the theatre of victory or defeat, let the effects be tested by the free industry and happy population which now crowd its surface.

By Abraham Baily.—The Memory of Major General Anthony Wayne: His distinguished services, as a soldier and statesman, eminently entitle him to the grateful remembrance of his countrymen.

By the Committee of Reception.—Our brethren, the City Councils of Philadelphia: To whose gentlemanly kindness and attention we are greatly indebted, on this happy occasion.

By Joseph S. Lewis, of the City Councils.—The cordial affection existing between Philadelphia and her sister counties: May it always continue and constantly increase.

At the conclusion of the toasts, a number of citizens were introduced to the General in the court room, and he then repaired again to the residence of Ziba Pyle, where he spent the night. During the evening he was visited by many ladies and gentlemen, who were introduced to him, and whom he received with his accustomed ease and kindness. Among others to whom he gave an affectionate welcome, was a daughter of Associate Judge John Davis, a veteran under his command at Yorktown, Virginia, who was introduced by Col. Isaac Wayne. Many young people were presented and received a friendly greeting, which was cherished as a fond memory for many years. Among these was Henry C. Townsend, now a leading member of the Philadelphia bar, and a valued member of the Chester County Historical Society. His presence at the exercises of dedication of the memorial shaft erected to mark the place where Gen. Lafayette was wounded at the battle of Brandywine, added interest to that occasion.

The headquarters of General Lafayette and his party while in West Chester, was at the old White Hall hotel, at the southeast corner of Gay and Church streets.

The day was spent as a holiday by a great part of the county. The weather was cool and delightful. From the time the party entered Chester county near Chads' Ford, the roads were lined with enthusiastic spectators. Flowers, flags and handkerchiefs greeted the General and his party at every turn. Badges with portraits of Lafayette and Washington were worn by many. A profusion of bunting was displayed from the houses, containing prints of Lafayette. Several of these badges were shown at the exercises reported above, and were worn with the badges of the Chester County Historical Society, which consisted of a miniature silk American flag with thirteen stars and thirteen stripes attached to a white silk badge, stamped with the seal of the society, and the dates, "September 11th, 1777-1895."

The next morning, July 27, 1825, Col. McClellan, Col. Humphrey, Col. Pearce and Gen. Barnard accompanied Gen. Lafayette out the Strasburg road to Col. Filson's hotel at Humphreysville, some fourteen miles from West Chester, where they arrived about 9.30 o'clock. A great number

of ladies and gentlemen, many from Lancaster county, had gathered here to meet the distinguished visitors. Many gentlemen were on horseback, under command of Col. Chas. W. Humphrey. The breakfast room was decorated with wreaths and festoons of evergreens intertwined with natural and artificial flowers. From the center of an arch directly over the General's plate and partially enveloped in the evergreens, a small golden eagle was suspended. The General was seated between Col. McClellan and Col. Humphrey. Four of the neighboring clergy and several other gentleman were also at the table. About fifteen minutes past ten three handsome barouches, which had been sent from Lancaster city, with two troops of horse, commanded by Capt. Diller and Capt. Buckley, drew up to the door. General Lafayette, accompanied by Gen. Geo. B. Porter, ascended the first conveyance,—his son and secretary and the gentlemen composing the committee from that city, occupied the other two,—and in a few minutes the eyes of the crowd of Chester county spectators lost sight forever of the great and good Lafayette.

General Lafayette proceeded from Lancaster to Baltimore and thence to Washington, where he was the guest of President John Quincy Adams. He visited the ex-Presidents Jefferson, Madison and Monroe (to the latter accompanied by President Adams), at their respective residences in Virginia, and, on Sept. 9, 1825, sailed for his home in a new frigate named, in compliment to him, "the Brandywine."

LEVASSEUR'S JOURNAL.

M. Levasseur, secretary to General Lafayette during his journey, prepared and published a journal of the tour through the country, entitled "Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825." The following extracts are given as of especial interest to Chester county readers:

"In the evening [of Sept. 11, 1824] we dined with the French residents of New York, who wished to celebrate the 47th anniversary of the battle of Brandywine. The dinner was prepared at Washington Hall." The decorations were most elaborate. Many patriotic toasts were drank and some stanzas to Lafayette were read. Page 95.

"The assembly [at Hartford] could scarcely retain their emotion when old General Wadsworth entered bearing the epaulettes and scarf worn by Lafayette at the battle of Brandywine, where he was wounded. The scarf still retained traces of his blood. These epaulettes and scarf were given to General Swift after the peace, and his family had preserved them carefully, in memory of him who wore them, and the cause he defended." Page 81.

"The week we had just spent in Philadelphia, as it were, in his own family, had entirely composed the fatigue of the General, and, although the heat continued excessive, he undertook, on the 25th, his journey to Wilmington, where a great number of Pennsylvanians and Virginians were in waiting to conduct him to the field of the battle of Brandywine. This field was not rendered illustrious by a victory, as has been said, but its remembrance is not less dear to Americans, who gratefully recollect

the blood spilled there by their fathers, and by young Lafayette, in the defence of their rights, and to secure their independence. Happy that country in which events are appreciated more by their influence on its destinies than by the eclat of the moment! The men who took the first steps in procuring the liberties of the United States in the battles of Bunker's Hill and on the banks of the Brandywine, are at this day not less honored in the eyes of the nation, than those who sealed it at last at the battle of Yorktown.

"In the beginning of September, 1777, General Howe, at the head of eighteen thousand men of the British army, embarked on board the fleet commanded by his brother, and left New York without the possibility of the Americans ascertaining precisely the object of his expedition. A few days after it was ascertained that he had entered the Chesapeake, and had landed at the head of Elk, for the purpose of marching to attack Philadelphia. Washington immediately marched through this city, where the Congress were then in session, and advanced to meet the enemy, annoying him with several attacks between the point of his debarkation and a small stream, the Brandywine, behind which the American army, greatly inferior in number, and composed almost wholly of militia, had just taken their position. Chads' Ford was in front of their encampment, where it was contemplated to give them battle, but General Howe, leaving a body of troops on the opposite side of the stream, in order to cover his manœuvre, marched forward to pass another ford on the right of the Americans. This movement was so much the more difficult to reconnoitre, as the banks of the stream were densely grown with wood, and, by a singular fatality, the two parallel roads leading to the two fords were called by the same name, so that the reports received by Washington from his scouts, though apparently contradictory, were nevertheless true. This confusion of names threw the American general into a most painful anxiety; he hesitated too long on the course he was to pursue, and lost a most precious moment which might have given him the victory. Had he been able to procure definite intelligence of the movements of the enemy, he would have passed the ford before him, and most certainly would have defeated the British division which remained at Chads' Ford, commanded by Knyphausen, and then falling suddenly on the body under General Howe, surprising him by an attack in flank, would almost inevitably have succeeded in a complete defeat of the English army; but the occasion passed rapidly, and the firing of muskets on his right soon apprised Washington of the danger of his situation. Happily he had established a position behind the second ford, of three brigades, commanded by Sullivan and Stirling. These three brigades sustained the attack with vigor, and for a short time arrested the British by a deadly fire; but their line being attacked both right and left, by superior forces, the wings gave way. The centre continued its position firmly, in defiance of the shower of broken brass that was poured in upon them. But this centre itself at last began to yield, and was about to beat a retreat, when young Lafayette, notwithstanding his rank of brevet-major, was yet serving as a

simple volunteer near the commander-in-chief, dismounted from his horse, and went, sword in hand, to place himself at the head of a company of grenadiers, who, reanimated by his noble effort, maintained themselves firmly for a few moments. Soon, however, Lafayette received a shot below the knee, and was obliged to retire with his grenadiers; but he had already reaped the reward of his devotedness, for he had procured the opportunity for Washington to join the division of General Greene, and of recommencing the action in a second line. Here the fight raged on either side with obstinate perseverance, and the astonishing spectacle was exhibited of militia rallying after a first check, and fronting with firm step an enemy superior in numbers and in discipline. The event of this second contest was yet doubtful, when suddenly Washington learned that the pass of Chads' Ford was forced, and that Knyphausen was about to fall on his left flank; he immediately resolved to secure a retreat to Chester, where he arrived with his army the same evening.

"The battle was lost, but the British had paid dear for their victory, and the moral force of the Americans was augmented even by their defeat. In this day's engagement Lafayette had sealed with his blood his alliance with the principles for which he had crossed the ocean, and forever secured to himself the gratitude of a nation amongst whom generous and noble sentiments outlive the ravages of time.

"It was once more to evince their gratitude for their long tried friend, that the revolutionary soldiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia had now assembled with their sons, to conduct Lafayette to the field of the battle of Brandywine. We left Chester on the 26th of July, with a retinue, at the head of which appeared the two oldest revolutionary officers of the neighboring counties, Colonel McLean and Captain Anderson. Numerous bodies of militia had preceded us, and were already gone to take their position at the ancient encampment of the American army, where may yet be discovered traces of one of the redoubts. It was about noon when we arrived on the borders of the Brandywine, along which we were to travel to the point at which, as we had been informed, the army had passed. But on approaching the stream, General Lafayette cast a glance on the surrounding country, and said, 'It cannot be here that we passed in 1777, it must be a little higher up the stream.' It was in fact ascertained that the passage had been effected just above the spot we occupied. This accuracy of observation and vivid recollection excited in a high degree the admiration of the numerous witnesses.

"At Chads' Ford the General learned that one of his companions in arms, Gideon Gilpin, under whose roof he had passed the night before the battle, was now confined to bed by age and infirmity, and despaired of being able to join his fellow citizens in their testimony of respect to the General: he went to visit the aged soldier, whom he found surrounded by his family. Gideon Gilpin, notwithstanding his extreme weakness, recognized him on his entrance, and proved by tears of grateful and tender recollection how much this visit tended to the comfort and soothing of his last moments.

"On arriving at the field of battle, General Lafayette recognized successively, and pointed out to us himself, all the principal points on which the two armies had manœuvred and fought on the 11th of September, 1777; nor did his recollection wander a single moment. Being arrived at the spot where the first attack was made, and *where he had been wounded*, he paused a moment; his ancient companions pressed around his carriage, and the militia passed before him, amid the loudest acclamations and the cry a thousand times re-echoed, "long live Lafayette." During the whole of this scene, of profound emotion on his part, and which his modesty induced him frequently to attempt to abridge, he spoke to those around him of nothing but the presence of mind evinced by Washington on the fatal day of the 11th September, and of the courage manifested by the officers and soldiers in supporting him. But in vain he recalled the names of the most illustrious chiefs, and attributed to them all the glory of having saved the army: the reply he received was by pointing him to the soil on which he had spilled his blood, and the sight of this indestructible monument exalted to the highest degree the gratitude of the crowd of spectators who accompanied him. In prolonging our excursion along the route by which the British had conducted their first attack, we arrived at the house of Mr. Samuel Jones. It had been for a short time occupied by General Howe during the battle, and yet retains traces of the well directed fire of the American artillery. After the elegant collation with which we were entertained by Mrs. Jones, we had presented to us various implements and remains of arms found on the field of battle; and we returned with these precious relics to West Chester, where we concluded the day in the enjoyment of festivities prepared by the inhabitants.

"In the multiplied recitals I have made of the public rejoicings at which I assisted, during my stay in the United States, it was impossible not to be struck with the constant association of religious ideas and patriotic sentiments which so strongly characterize the citizens of this republic: but what is not less remarkable is, that their religion, free of practical minutiæ, seems as much an uniform sentiment as their love of liberty resembles an uniform faith. With them a political orator never terminates a prepared address without an invocation, or grateful recognition of divine power; and a minister of the gospel, on taking the pulpit, commences by recalling to the notice of his auditors their duties as citizens, and their peculiar privileges in living under the wise institutions of their country. It may also be remarked, that this union of political morals and theology influences all the actions of the Americans with a gravity and deep conviction, the charm and tendency of which are wholly inexpressible. How could any one listen to these simple and touching invocations without being deeply affected, and without uniting in their humble and pious acknowledgments? We were about being seated at the hospitable board prepared by the citizens of West Chester at the National Hotel, [?] when the president of the day remarked that a minister of the church was in the company, and invited him to ask a blessing on the assemblage, which was done in the most affecting manner by the Rev. William Latta.

"A committee of the citizens of Lancaster having been deputed to escort General Lafayette from West Chester, he committed himself to their care on the 27th, after taking leave of a great number of the soldiers of 1776, who could not receive the last adieu of the aged general without testifying their emotion with tears."—*La Vasseur's Journal.*

LAFAYETTE'S STATEMENT OF HIS WOUNDING.

The following interview was published in "Poulson's Advertiser" of Feb. 25, 1825. It is republished in Martin's "History of Chester," page 255. Being asked the character of the wound, General Lafayette replied:

"The ball went through and through; I was on foot when I received my wound; a part of our line had given way, but a part still held its ground. To these I repaired. To encourage my comrades, and to show them I had no better chance of flight than they, I ordered my horse to the rear. The news of my being hurt was conveyed to the commander-in-chief, with the usual exaggerations in such cases. The good General Washington freely expressed his grief that one so young, and a volunteer in the holy cause of freedom, should so early have fallen; but he was soon relieved by an assurance that my wound would stop short of life, when he sent me his love and gratulation that matters were no worse. On the field of battle the surgeon prepared his dressings, but the shot fell so thick around us, that in a very little time, if we had remained, we should both have been past all surgery. Being mounted on my horse I left the field, and repaired to the bridge near Chester, where I halted and placed a guard, to stop fugitive soldiers, and direct them to join their respective regiments. I could do no more; becoming faint, I was carried into a house in Chester and laid on a table, when my wound received its first dressing.

"The general officers soon arrived, when I saluted them by begging that they would not eat me up, as they appeared to be very hungry, and I was the only dish upon the table in the house. The good general-in-chief was much gratified on finding me in such spirits, and caused a litter to be made, on which I was conveyed to the Indian Queen in Philadelphia, and was there waited upon by the members of Congress, who were all booted and spurred and on the wing for a place of greater safety to hold their sessions. The enemy continuing to advance, I was removed to Bristol, and thence in the coach of President Laurens (and coaches were rare in those days) to Reading [Bethlehem], where I remained until so much recovered as to be able to repair to head-quarters."

NOTE TO PAGE 75.

As to query at end of first paragraph of p. 75: Lieut. Col. (late Maj.) Frazer and Maj. John Harper were taken prisoners four days after the battle while reconnoitering the enemy. They were taken to Phila. Col. Frazer escaped March 17, 1778. Maj. Harper was released Nov. 4, 1780. Lafayette's visit was just one month later. It is not unlikely that Maj. Harper was then at his home. Col. Frazer was probably in active service. Besides, his house was some six miles east of the battlefield. Maj. Harper is said to have died in Dilworthtown. If his home was there in 1777 he was no doubt "the American Major" who accompanied Lafayette in 1780. Maj. Harper kept tavern in Chester in 1784.

APPENDIX "D."

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF CHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT.

GEORGE MORRIS PHILIPS.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

WILLIAM D. HARTMAN, M. D.
ALFRED SHARPLESS.

DIRECTORS.

GILBERT COPE,
GIBBONS GRAY CORNWELL,
DANIEL W. HOWARD,
JAMES MONAGHAN,
GEORGE MORRIS PHILIPS.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

WILLIAM T. SHARPLESS, M. D.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

GILBERT COPE.

TREASURER.

JAMES C. SELLERS.

CURATORS.

ALICE LEWIS,
WILLIAM T. SHARPLESS, M. D.

COUNCIL.

LINDA M. HOOPES,
ALICE LEWIS,
MARY I. STILLE,
JOSEPH THOMPSON,
WILLIAM P. SHARPLESS,
SAMUEL MARSHALL,
WILLIAM D. HARTMAN,
ALFRED SHARPLESS,
GILBERT COPE,
GIBBONS G. CORNWELL,
GEORGE M. PHILIPS,
DANIEL W. HOWARD,
JAMES MONAGHAN,
WILLIAM T. SHARPLESS,
JAMES C. SELLERS.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Gilbert Cope, West Chester,
Rebecca M. Hemphill, West Chester,
Samuel Marshall, West Chester,
Dr. Thos. E. Parke, Downingtown,
Chas. H. Pennypacker, W. Chester,
Dr. Chas. Schaeffer, Philadelphia,
J. Preston Thomas, Whitford.

MEMBERS.

Wilton Agnew, Kennett Square,
John L. Balderston, Kennett Square,
Edwin A. Barber, West Chester,
Mary D. Biddle, Seal,
Henry L. Brinton, Oxford,
William Brower, Spring City,
Rev. Wm. L. Bull, Whitford,
Geo. A. Chandler, S. Bethlehem,
Jesse S. Cheyney, Jr., Philadelphia,
C. B. Cochran, Normal School,
Albert Commons, Wilmington, Del.,
Gibbons G. Cornwell, West Chester,
John H. Darlington, West Chester,
Anna J. Davis, West Pikeland,
Hugh DeHaven, Westtown,
Watson W. Dewees, Westtown,
Rev. Jos. S. Evans, West Chester,
Sara Cochran Evans, West Chester,
J. R. Flickinger, Normal School,
H. H. Gilkyson, Phœnixville,
John Gilpin, West Chester,
Thomas Allen Glenn, Ardmore,
Phebe Griffith, West Chester,
Frank D. Green, Philadelphia,
Edward H. Hall, West Chester,
Isaac N. Haines, West Chester,
*Dr. Wm. D. Hartman, W. Chester,
J. Carroll Hayes, West Chester,
H. F. C. Heagey, Cochranville,
E. Dallett Hemphill, Jr., W. Chester,
F. Sharpless Hickman, W. Chester,
Louis A. Holton, Coatesville,
Chas. R. Hoopes, West Chester,
Linda M. Hoopes, West Chester,
Daniel W. Howard, West Chester,
J. Newton Huston, West Chester,
Geo. B. Johnson, West Chester,
Addison Jones, West Chester,
H. Rush Kervey, West Chester,
Samuel Lamborn, Philadelphia,
Wm. J. Latta, Philadelphia,
Josiah W. Leeds, Seal,
Alice Lewis, West Chester,
Walter H. Lewis, West Chester,
John P. Logan, West Chester,
Jennie Hibberd Logan, W. Chester,
William P. Logan, West Chester,
Geo. B. McCormick, West Chester,
Mary Elizabeth Maison, Cheyney,
Hannah A. Marshall, West Chester,
Wm. P. Marshall, West Chester,
Samuel L. Martindale, Oxford,
Dr. Isaac Massey, West Chester,
Thos. Mercer, West Chester,
James Monaghan, West Chester,
Anna J. Monaghan, West Chester,
Thos. H. Montgomery, W. Chester,
Daniel F. Moore, Phœnixville,
Benjamin Nields, Wilmington,
Gertrude W. Nields, Wilmington,
Septimus E. Nivin, Landenberg,
Thos. L. Ogier, West Chester,
Rees Palmer, West Chester,
Dr. Chas. R. Palmer, W. Chester,
Richard G. Park, West Chester,
John A. M. Passmore, Philadelphia,
Hon. S. W. Pennypacker, Phila.,
Wilmer E. Pennypacker, W. Chester,
Geo. M. Philips, Normal School,
Dr. Jacob Price, West Chester,
Dr. Joseph Price, Whitford,
Charles E. Pugh, Phila.,
Mary E. Roberts, West Chester,
Josephine Roberts, West Chester,
George H. Roberts, West Chester,
Dr. Jos. T. Rothrock, W. Chester,
Julius F. Sachse, Philadelphia,
S. Emlen Sharples, West Chester,
Martha S. Sharples, West Chester,
Alfred D. Sharples, West Chester,
Alfred Sharpless, West Chester,
Wm. P. Sharpless, West Chester,
Wm. T. Sharpless, West Chester,
Matthias Sheeleigh, Ft. Washington,
James C. Sellers, West Chester,
Harry Sloyer, Phœnixville,
Mary Hopkins Smith, Parkesburg,
Susan Brinton Smith, Parkesburg,
Harris E. Sproat, Westtown,
Mary I. Stille, West Chester,
Theodore K. Stubbs, Oxford,
C. Wesley Talbot, West Chester,
Horace F. Temple, West Chester,
Geo. B. Thomas, West Chester,
Joseph Thompson, West Chester,
Benj. Thompson, Landenberg,
Henry C. Townsend, Philadelphia,
Samuel Wagner, Green Hill,
Joseph S. Walton, Ercildoun,
Geo. F. P. Wanger, Pottstown,
William Wayne, Paoli,
Chas. Benj. Wilkinson, Philadelphia,
Harry Wilson, Gum Tree,
W. Warren Woodruff, W. Chester.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Daniel G. Brinton, Philadelphia,
Charlton T. Lewis, New York City.

*Curtis H. Hannum, West Chester.

Erratum on page 96: Amount of Phœnixville School Contribution, $9.50.
Erratum to page 102: Cannon "g," line 33 from bottom, should probably be q.

APPENDIX "E."

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO MEMORIAL SHAFT FUND.

Wilton Agnew, Kennett Square,	$ 0 50
E. A. Barber and family, W. Chester,	2 50
N. H. Benjamin, Phœnixville,	5 00
Mary D. Biddle, Seal P. O.,	10 00
Christine Biddle, Seal P. O.,	5 00
Henry L. Brinton, Oxford,	1 00
Col. Joseph P. Brinton, W. Goshen,	5 00
H. B. Buckwalter, West Chester,	2 00
Rev. William L. Bull, Whitford,	5 00
Hon. William Butler, West Chester,	5 00
Rev. J. H Chambers, West Chester,	50
Elisha G. Cloud, Unionville,	1 00
G. G. Cornwell, West Chester,	1 00
R. T. Cornwell, " "	5 00
Percy S. Darlington, West Chester,	50
Richard Darlington, " "	1 00
Smedley Darlington, " "	6 00
Annie J. Davis, West Pikeland,	1 00
Samuel R. Dickey, Oxford,	1 00
Roland W. Diller, Springfield, Ill.,	1 00
William Dowlin, West Chester,	1 00
Dr. Thos. D. Dunn, " "	2 00
Mattie A. England, West Chester,	50
Rev. Jos. S. Evans, " "	1 00
Dr. John R. Everhart, " "	5 00
Michael Farrell, West Chester,	1 00
Albin Garrett, Westtown,	5 00
R. Thomas Garrett, West Goshen,	1 00
H. H. Gilkyson, Phœnixville,	5 00
John R. Gilpin, West Chester,	1 00
Emma E. Gilpin, " "	1 00
Vincent Gilpin, " "	50
Charles M. Grimm, " "	1 00
O. F. Groff, " "	5 00
Col Henry R. Guss, " "	2 00
Curtis H. Hannum, West Chester,	5 00
J. Frank E. Hause, " "	1 00
E. Dallett Hemphill, " "	1 00
Rebecca M. Hemphill, " "	6 00
Rebecca Hemphill, " "	25
Clara Hemphill, " "	25
E. Dallett Hemphill, Jr., " "	25
Marjorie Hemphill, " "	21
James Mitchell Hemphill" "	20
Isaac Mickle Hemphill, " "	06
John Mickle Hemphill, " "	05
F. S. Hickman, " "	1 00
William H. Hodgson, " "	5 00
A. M. Holding, " "	1 00
Linda M. Hoopes, " "	5 25
Robert F. Hoopes, " "	1 00
Daniel W. Howard, " "	6 00
Fanny L. Howard, " "	50
Wm. M. Howard, " "	25
Dorothy Howard, " "	25
J. Newton Huston, " "	1 00
Alex. H. Ingram, Oxford,	1 00
A. L. Ingram, West Chester,	1 00
Rebecca T. Jackson, Westtown,	25
Francis Jacobs, West Chester,	2 00
William W. Jefferis, Philadelphia,	5 00
George B. Johnson, West Chester,	5 00
H. Rush Kervey, West Chester,	1 00
Levi B. Kirk, Oxford,	1 00
Dr. J. Stewart Leech, Downingtown,	$5 00
Alice Lewis, West Chester,	25
Obed Lewis, Springfield, Ill.,	1 00
Walter H. Lewis, West Chester,	5 00
B. Franklin March, Norristown,	5 00
George L. Maris, Newtown,	1 00
Samuel Marshall, West Chester,	6 00
Thomas W. Marshall, " "	5 00
William P. Marshall, " "	5 00
S. L. Martindale, Oxford,	1 00
Dr. Isaac Massey, West Chester,	1 00
J. Llewellyn Meredith, " "	3 00
J. Llewellyn Meredith, Jr., " "	2 00
Mrs. Isaac Mickle, " "	50
James Monaghan, " "	6 00
Anna Jackson Monaghan, " "	1 00
Hannah Darlington Monaghan, "	25
James Monaghan, Jr., " "	25
Rebecca Monaghan, " "	25
Rev. S. G. M. Montgomery, Neb.,	1 00
Thomas H. Montgomery, W. Goshen,	5 00
Hon. Daniel F. Moore, Phœnixville,	5 00
John G. Moses, West Chester,	1 00
Lewis C. Moses, " "	5 00
Dr. S. A. Mullin, " "	1 00
Francina A. Murdagh, " "	25
Bessie Ebbs Norris, West Chester,	5 00
Eli Palmer, West Chester,	1 00
Rees Palmer, " "	1 00
Richard G. Park, " "	10 00
J. A. M. Passmore, Philadelphia,	2 00
Samuel Pennock, Kennett Square,	1 00
Hon. S. W. Pennypacker, Phila,	5 00
George M. Philips, West Chester,	6 00
Dr. Jacob Price, " "	1 00
Joel B. Pusey, Avondale,	1 00
Paul S. Reeves, Phœnixville,	5 00
Alfred P. Reid, West Chester,	5 00
Jessie H. Roberts, Downingtown,	1 00
Evans Rogers, West Chester,	5 00
Dr. J. T. Rothrock, " "	11 00
John A. Rupert, " "	2 00
Slater B. Russell, " "	50
John E. Scott, Pomeroy,	25
Mary I. Scull, Phœnixville,	10 00
Thomas R. Scull, "	5 00
Harriet Shafer, West Pikeland,	2 00
Alfred Sharpless, West Chester,	1 00
Martha Sharpless, " "	1 00
Samuel J. Sharpless, Westtown,	5 00
William P. Sharpless, West Chester,	5 00
Dr. Wm. T. Sharpless, " "	2 00
Harry Sloyer, Phœnixville,	5 00
Rev. S. B. Spalding, West Chester,	2 00
Harris E. Sproat, Westtown,	1 00
Theodore K. Stubbs, Oxford,	5 00
W. Marshall Swayne, Kennett Square,	1 00
D. Smith Talbot, West Chester,	2 00
Archer Taylor, " "	05
Annie Taylor, " "	05
Agnes Taylor, " "	05
George B. Thomas, " "	2 00
J. Preston Thomas, Whitford,	2 00
Joseph Thompson, West Chester,	7 50
Henry C. Townsend, Phila.,	10 00
Jos. B. Townsend, "	5 00
Hon. Wm. B. Waddell, West Chester,	1 00

Geo. H. Watson, Elizabeth, N. J.,	$3 00
Marshall S. Way, West Chester,	5 00
Hon. William Wayne, Paoli,	6 00
G. Glancy Wilson, West Chester,	1 00
Hon. Wm. Wollerton, " "	3 00
H. S. Worth, Oxford,	1 00

MISCELLANEOUS.

Descendants of Josiah Philips: Amanda Garber Jones, Sallie B. Kurtz, Lina Roland, Amanda Roland, of Reading, Pa., Frances M. Stiteler, Anselma, Pa.,	$ 2 00
Daughters of the American Revolution, Chester County Chapter,	25 00
West Chester T. A. B. Society,	10 00
To the memory of the men whose lives purchased our liberty,	3 00
For memorial stones (collected),	4 47
A trowelfull of mortar for memorial stones,	05
A little patriot,	10

LIST OF SCHOOL CONTRIBUTORS.

Birmingham, Sarah Webster, teacher: Anna R. Lee, Minnie E. Lee, Dollie Brinton, Emma Boots, Grace Brinton, Walter Brinton, Harry Brinton. $0.29.

Cooper School, Sylmar, Md., Bertie Daverin, teacher: Laura Reynolds, Alice Dowland, Nora Ferguson, Edith Reynolds, Maud Moore, Nelia Sidwell, Helen Keetley, Jennie Keetley, Anna Dowland, Clara Dowland, Venie Campbell, Mary Campbell, Herbert Reynolds, Jessie Dowland, Wilson Sidwell, Willie Keetley, Howard Reynolds, Everet Reynolds, Charlie Ferguson, George Ferguson, Charlie Reynolds, George Keetley, Willie Reynolds, Mearns Dowland. $1.25.

Coventryville, South Coventry twp., Minnie M. Jones, teacher: Ethel Christman, Cora Fries, Hunter Fries, Charley Fries, Oscar Fries, Cyrus Dries, Willie Evans, Earl Essick, Eva Burk, Alban Burk, Katie Burk, Mamie McClain, Harry Dickinson, Blanche Houck, Charley Houck, Warren Houck, Roy Michener, Emily Piersol, Esther Piersol, Charley Piersol, Myrtle Frock, Stella Murray, Emma Murray, Oscar Murray, Joseph Burg. $0.25.

East Grove, London Grove twp., M. Priscilla Floyd, teacher: Mamie Mayhew, Reba Mayhew, Rosie Mayhew, Anna Moody, Ernest Moody, George Duckery, Lewis Brown, Matthew Ellis, Annie Ellis, John Denny, Alice Denny, Dennis O'Brien, Eddie O'Brien, Herschel Shortlidge, Morris O'Brien, John O'Connell, Michael O'Connell, Lizzie O'Brien, Katie Bond, Lawrence Stackhouse, Nellie Floyd, James Floyd, Kathie Floyd, Charles Floyd, John O'Connell, James O'Connell, Josie Monahan, Eddie Monahan, Daniel McGlinchey, Emma McGlinchey, Josie McGlinchey, Rosie McGlinchey, Marguerite Floyd, May Green, Alfred Brown, Chester Brown, Lottie Brown. $1.35.

Elkview, Penn twp., Lidie A. McCorkle, teacher: Allan B. Smedley, Byron T. Smedley, Andrew J. Leid, Brinton E. Ingram, Horace G. Ingram, Estelle L. Ingram, James T. McIntire, Eddie Mahan, Walter Mahan, Edith E. Jones, Anna L. Kelly, Daniel Kelly, Bessie Kelly, John Kelly, James S. Hood, Frank E. Hood, Sadie E. Hood, Maggie A. Hood, Mary B. Hood, Will E. McGurk, Harry K. McGurk, Myra Massey, Bell Hemsley, Amy Lee, Gertrude Webster, Louie Webster, Joe M. Grant, Albert Stafford, Frances Lee, Remus Lee, Granville Lee. $0.31.

Franklin, South Coventry twp., Mary P. Brooke, teacher: George Leighton, Frank Leighton, Bessie Leighton, Daisy Leighton, Clara

Hains, Clarence Acker, Ruth Detwiler, Johnny Young, Jennie Young, Lizzie Favinger, Albert Favinger, Susie Smale, Stella Yost, Ella Burger, James Burger, Laura Plumley, Stella Brumback, Howard Brumback, Emma Miller, Walter Loomis, Ida Wilkinson, Carrie Geigle. $0.22.

Friends' School. See West Chester Friends' School.

Glen Hall, Louisa H. Huber, teacher: Mae Mendenhall, Emma McKnight, Willie McKnight, Emma Cook, Caleb Ball, George Ball, Anna Funk, Josie Funk, Bessie Allison, Norman Jackson. $0.75.

Hartman's, East Pikeland twp., Lizzie Van Ormer, teacher: Howard Bronson, Willard Bronson, Clarence Yeager, Alice Hiestand, Minnie Walters, Edna Friday, Lottie Hiestand, James Kinckiner, Amanda Hiestand, Jesse Bechtel, Hanna Detwiler, Russel Detwiler, Norma Huzzard, Sallie Detwiler, Charlie Huzzard, Lizzie Billig, Katie Engle, Frank Swartz, Howard Miller, Della Friday, Vernon Friday, Arthur Lahr, Annie Neilor, Clarence Miller, Mary Miller, Edward Miller, Katie Malenke, Ambose Malenke, Joseph Brannan, William Yeager, Fannie Brannan, Susie Brannan, Lottie Lahr, Mabel Miller, John Reuben Yeager. $0.75.

Hopewell, L. R. Cope, teacher: Maye Appleton, Alice Groff, Martha Bunting, Phebe Bunting, Mary Hart, Maggie Hudson, Dela Riley, Abbie McMichael, Mary Sagers, Bertha Maxfield, Bertha Knight, Laura Groff, Nina Mosteller, Anna Bunting, Kizzie Hudson, Rachie Mosteller, Pearl Hannum, Esther Webster, Alice Webster, Helen Webster, Ida Hudson, Bessie Hudson, Mary Hudson, Gertie Terry, Emma Groff, Sara Rayne, Mary Webster, Maude Gallegher, Rachie Hudson, Katie Harkness, Ethel Webster, Robbie Webster, Esther Webster, Earl McMichael, David Sagers, Willie McMichael, Lawrence Webster, Cecil Kimble, Ira Terry, Stanley Maxfield, Samuel Appleton, Ralph Conoly, Elwood Pierce, Stanley Webster, Clarence Huss, Harvey Huss, James Bunting, Morrow Hart, Clarence Knight, Robert Atkins, Howard Riley. $0.51.

Howellville, Tredyffrin twp., Jennie Lamborn, teacher: Warren Jaquett, Charles Roberts, Grover C. Opdyke, Charles Shainline, John S. Beitler, Bennie Cassel, James W. Gillespie, George W. Famous, Minerva Opdyke, Jennie Jaquett, Mary Flynn, Annie Flynn, Essie Pedrick, Nellie Egan, Terry Egan, Charles Chattem, Beatty Wadsworth, James Flynn, John Howe, George Nuttall, Maggie Howe, Sarah A. Howe, Alice Woodward, Mary Nuttall, Hattie Wadsworth, Mary Raub, Gertie Flanagan, Laura Myers, Renie Cassel, Amos Nuttall. $1.07.

Longwood, Anna R. Jackson, teacher: Helen M. Woodward, Bertha P. Merrick, Linnie S. Vandever, Nardie A. Wright, Katie T. Harrison, Lillie K. Wright, Rose H. Harrison, Sidney M. Wright, Emilie J. Brittingham, Hallie E. West, Ella Mary Heald, Giesela Stadlick, Maud E. Warfel, Wilmer Hampton, Robert Merrick, Maris Miller, Howard Miller. $0.20.

Malvern, Primary Department, Margaret B. Trimble, teacher: Sara Suplee, Grace Phelps, Lee Spackman, Elsie Pickel, Florence Tompkins,

Stephen Phelps, Belle Pickel, Viola Mather, Elmer Mercer, Frank Snyder, Rose Snyder, Mabel Snyder, Bertha Brown, Edna Crouthers, Alice Crouthers, Bessie Hogeland, Ethel Dean, Leila Grubb, Anna Grubb, Walter Garrett, Edna Hogeland, Lizzie Catren, Florence Bailey, Martha Henderson, Anna John. $0.36. *Grammar Department*, Hannah Ephright, teacher: Don Baldwin, Eugene Todd, Lewis Newton, Ralph Thomas, Elias Hogeland, Jerome MacDonald, Willie Reeves, Charles Wright, Estella Hogeland, Lizzie Jacobs, Horace Shunk, Rebecca Thomas, Beulah Green, Nellie Bailey, Warren Garrett, Matora Greene, Albert Detwiler, Anna McCorkle, Fred Esler, Harry Thomas, Frank Detwiler, Warren Phelps. $0.39.

Marlborough Hall,* West Marlborough twp., Carrie M. Wollaston, teacher. $1.50.

Mt. Airy,* Uwchlan twp., Tacie C. Embree, teacher. $1.00.

Normal School. See West Chester State Normal School.

Oak Hill, Newlin twp., Louisa H. Huber, teacher: Bessie Allison, Caleb Ball, George Ball, Emma Cook, Anna Funk, Josie Funk, Norman Jackson, Willie McKnight, Emma McKnight, May Mendenhall. $0.75.

Oak Hill, West Marlborough twp., Mary Martin, teacher: Rae S. Baker, Millie Jones, Mary E. Gothersmen, Lauretta M. Mercer, Leila M. Wood, Grace E. Rinier, Nellie L. Baker, Bessie H. Wood, Mary F. Barton, Emma E. Smale, Agnes M. Ferron, Maud E. Smale, Ida B. Barton, Mary E. Garris, Clara Johnson, Lizzie L. Richardson, Mamie E. Richardson, Dora E. Cornelius, Ida M. Dickson, Ella E. Green, Florence A. Green, Mary M. Richardson, Benjamin F. Savage, Thomas E. Richardson, George Richardson, Thomas Garris, George Garris, Charles Martin, George E. Barton, Eddie P. Palmer, Thomas C. Ferron, Hayes Jones, David Ross, Elmer Dickson, Abraham Dickson, George Cornelius, Clarence Shannon, Norman Johnson. $0.50.

Oxford, Wm. H. Snyder, Principal: A. Maggie Barry, Mame H. Irwin, M. Lorena Strickland, Ruth E. Griffith, Mary E. Wells, Maggie M. Terry, teachers. *High School:* Willie McCommon, Randolph Reburn, Wil Wilson, Howard Crosby, Kirwan Hutchison, Philip Miller, Harry Oakford, Orvil Strickland, John Watt, Annie Mehan, Florence Pierson, Alice Sidwell, Lorenna Taylor, Florence Armstrong, Mary Hanvey, Mae Rupert. *Grammar:* Mary Barry, Bessie Miller, Annie Wilson, Bessie McFalls, Della Cochran, Ettie Doyle, Hazel Strickland, Carrie Wilson, Edna Evans, Emma Rupert, Lucy Harrison, Maud Strickland, Helen Showalter, Ethel Leeke, Albert Kirk, Ralston Shellender, Norman Passmore. *Intermediate:* Laura Dickey, Crete Gilligan, Jessie Perry, Horace Ramsay, Samuel H. Leeke, Clyde Wilson, Clyde Garver, Bertha Strickland, Belle Oakford, Edna Galbraith, Guy Groff, Anna Winslow, Edith Leeke, Jessie King, Etta Dunlap, Carson Hutchison, Howard Pierson, Susie Ferguson, Norman Alexander. *Secondary:* Harry Wood, Lelia

*Children's names, if received in time, will appear at end of list.

Pyle, Mary R. McIntire, George C. Hutchison, Esther R. Swisher, S. Mabel Keilholtz, Mary V. Keilholtz, Mabel Hutchison, Ida Johnson, Carrie K. Smith, Charles E. Smith, Clara L. Russell, Carrie E. Collins, Earl Wilson, Clair Alexander, Ernest Ingram, Mary E. Pugh, Hazel L. Shellender. *Primary:* Mary LeCompte, James Mahoney, Raymond McCoy, Garfield Taylor, David Ferguson, Mary Ferguson, Horace Johnson, Bessie Alexander, Jerrie Scofield, Clyde Alexander, Arthur Collins, Frank Janney, Mollie Reburn, Saidie Melrath, Jane Gibson, Annie Maley, Bertha Wilson, Lewis Kirk, Ida Grason, Mary Green, Irene Jay, Charles Nocho, Annie Owens, William Knabe, Mary Gray, Ella Butler, Helen Strickland, Eliza Enos, May Peterson, Howard Gettman, Mabel Sharp, Joseph Fox, Bertha Jay, Chester Irwin, Miriam Alexander, Mary Hutchison, Zeda Hampton, May Hannan, Alma Olson, Ella Ferguson, Berta Strickland, Sadie Harnish, Carrie Harnish, Victorine McCoy, Frances Smith, Allan Ingram, Katie Cannon, Bessie Lilley, May Millard, Alma Smith, Howard Hudders, Alice Hannums, Ella Lewis, Roy Collins, Eva Murray, Barclay Gyles, John Cannon, Charles Jay, Roman Jones, Ralph Davis, Willie H. Barry, Alec Cannon, Helen Wood, Roy Wilson, Ella Strickland, Theodore Melrath, Lida Irwin, Ada Keilholtz, Daisy Clendenin, Helen E. Wood, Blanche Janney, Annie Mahoney, Iva Ramsey, Harry Garver, Grace Wilson, Clyde French, Eva Barton, Hazel Smith, Cora Cochran, Hallie Johnson, Ada Russell, Edgar Clark, Annie Hannum, Lucy Hannum, Norman Grey, Leeta McCauley, Ida Thomas, Bessie Thomas. $5.67.

Phœnixville, H. F. Leister, Superintendent. *High School*, Emma D. Quidland, A. O'N. Refsnyder, Emma A. Refsnyder, Anna M. Quidland, teachers: Laura B. Pugh, Lydia Karrer, Minnie Terrill, Carrie H. Howell, Jennie Jordan, Florence Shenkle, Sara Richardson, John O'Rorke, Harvey Jester, Lex Robb, J. Warren Jones, Samuel R. Jones, H. B. Hall, M. W. Ganster, George K. Frees, Katie O'Brien, Lottie Quay, Millie Walters, Edna Weidensaul, Fanny V. Hallman, Venie Crossman, Maude C. Waitneight, Minnie Stoll, Leon Holman, Albert M. Shoemaker, W. Clayton M. Simmers, Jennie R. Hartman, Howard K. Wells, Bert D. Eaches, Samuel E. Cornett, Harvey E. Bavis, Harry M. Howell, Frank Harley, Howard E. Gunster, Chester Pennypacker, Leon C. Anderson, Paul S. Wynne, M. Bell Crouse, Bessie Murray, Carrie Morris, Emma Cox, Walter Bishop, Oscar W. Hunsicker, Peter I. Deininger, Enid H. Harris, Elizabeth A. Widdicombe, Mary Wall, Elsie Leschorn, Emily A. Kugler, Rebe Wilson, Nellie Dobbs, Gertrude M. Kulp, Grace G. Shenkle, Herbert W. Wagner, George S. Walters, Warren Hallman. *Grammar Department*, Emma K. Bossert, Frances J. Tencate, Ida M. Taylor, Essie A. Hoskins, teachers: Adele Jones, Agnes P. Zollers, Florence E. Merrick, Sadie G. Keinard, Maud H. Howell, Cora Kepp, Ida Ettinger, Anna Barlow, Joseph R. Griffith, John Haviland, John Keenan, Clarence Neilor, Roy March, Mattie Brownback, Willie Essick, Warren P. Rhoades, Manola Stauffer, Annie Llewellyn. *Secondary*, Irene M. Dunbar, Mame L. Jones, Esther E. Grow, Laura M. Cross-

man, teachers: Gertie Dobbs, Edith Dobbs, Florence Dobbs, Florence Davis, Maggie Ford, Eddie Shenkle, Norris Schwenk, Gordon Keenan, Charlie Dotterer, Elsie Brunabend, Sadie Gotwals, Mary Gotwals, Ella Ellwanger, Leila Stiteler, Charlie Angstadt, Willie Stoll, Florence Llewellyn, Elmira Essick, Willie Yerger, Laura Airhart, Annie Wilkins, Carlile Sturges, Robert Murray, Nellie Robertson, Willie Widdicombe, Charles Vanderslice, Bessie White, Robert Donahower, Theresa Fries, Lewis Vogel, Alice Stearn, Lena Demelkior, May Demelkior, Jennie Herrscher, Samana Hendricks, Ella Birchall Plush, Maggie Keenan, George Howard, Walter Deininger, May Cox, Mary Shaffer, Warren White, Hubert D. Leister, Katie Fulmer, Clara Myers, Harry Ford, Minnie Widdicombe, Clara Yarnall, Helen Crouse, Chester Detwiler, George S. Powell, Frank Haviland, Mary P. Yost, Charles H. Cox, Katie McCann. *Primary*, Helen M. Barrett, Elizabeth A. Cornett, Emily M. Auld, Tillie C. Leschorn, Mame M. Hall, Katie R. Rhoades, Emma L. Ellwanger, M. Virginia Vanderslice, teachers: Nicholas Hollen, Herbert Powell, Mahlon Rambo, John Frees, Tom Haviland, Josie Dotterer, Willie Moore, John Coine, Guy Schirner, Laura Stoll, Elmira Carter, Minnie Ettinger, Celia Grim, Ellen Keenan, Daniel McMonigal, Lizzie McCann, Albert Pollock, Bennie Carey, May Corker, Lizzie E. Bartholomew, Essie Benowitz, Lillie Kepp, Minnie Beck, Harvey Rhoades, Frank B. Porter, Claude Gotwals, Harry Friend, Wilmer Howell, Charles Pollock, Charles Schwenk, Jessie Robertson, Reva Buckely, Clara Greenover, Lizzie Forde, Owen Maloney, John Field, Harold Davis, Raymond Miller, Willie Wilson, Maud Beck, Howard MacNeal, Dorcas Hawkins, Ella Phillips, Harold Dettre, Emma Ash, Bertha Blair, Carrie Wagner, George Stiteler, Roland Keenan, Clarence Raby, Thomas Powell, Margaret Emery, Willie Wagner, George Wall, Mary Brunabend, Willie Byrne, Mary McAdam, Edna Walker, Eva Sterne, Edward Golding, Willie Shenk, Florence Wilson, Edith Williams, Walter Towers, George Dobson, Helen Byrne, James Keenan, Reese Keeler, Arthur M. Buckwalter, Myrtle Kline, Clara Grim, Leah Matson, Katie L. Williams, Jerome Essick, Angie L. Bishop, Robert Farley, Minnie Davis, Edith Ott, John Myer, Effa Fitzgerald. *High Street Schools:* Belle P. Carter, principal: Mary E. McGuickian, secondary teacher: Mary A. McGillan and Mary T. O'Conner, primary teachers: Mary Weber, Bessie Eagle, Anna Koons, Mary Johnson, Elizabeth Hagy, Harry Renshaw, Robert Evans, Maggie McMahon, Laura Mellington, Emma Raysor, Nora M. Koons, Harry Fitzgerald, Phebe Turner, Mary C. Hagy, Annie Evans, Lester Schlick, Vernon Wolfe, Raymond Jones, Stella Yeager, Annie Johnson, Joseph McNamee, Charles McNamee, Jennie Smith. *Mason Street School*, Kate E. Auld and Anna T. Monaghan, teachers: Gertrude Dorat, Emma Nieman, Mabel Houck, Effie Wensel, Olie Houck, Chester Brownback, Eddie Bloomer, Louis Nieman, Howard Bloomer, Elise Scheetz, Annie Stanley, Harry Koerner, Florence Stanley, Mary Martha Harting, Townsend Scheetz, Frank Houck, Willie Elliott, Harry Rennard, Edna Rennard, Willie Nieman.

Pomeroy,* Sadsbury twp. $0.25.

Miss Townsend's Select School. See Windy Knowe.

Union Independent, Tanguy, Pa., Miller M. Boyd, teacher: Florence Morrow, Enos Garrett, Mabel Manley, Elsie Sladden, Blanche Hendrickson, Harry Hendrickson, Lewis Pinkerton, Charles Manley, Ethel Manley, Harry Lawton, Edwin Hoopes, Carrie Hoopes, Essie Baker, Joseph Kerwin, Mary Kerwin, Alice Smedley, Thomas Smedley, Anna Green, Sidwell Green, Fred Lawton, Anna Smedley, Helen Smedley, Eber Baker, Samuel Morrow, Clarence Smedley, Jabez Lawton, Howard Morrow, Mary Dowling, Annie Dowling, Lillie Lawton, Willie Ogborn, Maggie Ogborn, May Lawton, Henry Baker, Frank Pinkerton, Florence Eachus, Juanita Eachus, J. Marion Eachus, Sallie E. Lawton, George McCloskey, Agnes McCloskey, Harry Poinsett, Horace Johnson, Elmer Johnson, Cortland Poinsett, Harry Miller, Lewis Morrow, Byron Lodge, Lillian Lodge, Walter Irons, Florence Morrow. $0.51.

Unionville, East Marlborough twp. *Grammar*, Esther M. Pickel, teacher: Elizabeth Peirce, Anna Webb, Florence Chandler, Gertrude Chandler, Katie Webb, Willie Webb, Laura Hoagland, Zella Hoagland, Florence Jackson, George Webb, Carrie Chandler, Esther Worst, Louis Smith, Celine Renard, Bertha Wickersham, Mary Mullen. *Secondary*, Martha P. Jackson, teacher: Grace Chandler, George Elvin, Ella Wickersham, Frank Andress, Annie Hagner, Samuel Wickersham. $0.30.

Valley Forge, Schuylkill twp., Hettie E. Wilson, teacher: Nellie Bickings, Katie Callahan, Lillie Dunn, Mamie Dunn, Laura Free, Laura Fulmer, Della Fulmer, Annie Fulmer, Elsie Kinsella, Annie Lebens, Barbara Lebens, Minnie Lebens, Alice Mattson, Katie McGlathry, Libbie Sell, Stella Sell, Gertrude Sassenroth, Clara Sassenroth, Sarah Stoddart, Jane Ann Stoddart, Flossie Shillady, Adra Tees, Katie Trodden, Hettie Wilson, John Bickings, John Caley, Isaac Irons, James Lock, Robert Lock, Walter Lock, Charlie Lock, Eddie McClaskey, Albert McIntyre, Frank McGlathry, Frank Mattson, Willie Sell, John Sassenroth, Willie Tees, Nelson Shillady, Alvin Wise. $2.30.

West Chester, Addison Jones, Superintendent. *High School*, Addison Jones, principal, Susan C. Lodge, S. I. Kreemer, Flora L. White, assistants: Frances Helen Brinton, M. Florence Wynn, I. N. Earl Wynn, Edward G. Kirk, Howard H. Dowlin, Robert S. Gawthrop, S. LeRoy Barber, Sadie Kerr, Edgar P. Dowlin, Katie Manning, Lewis W. Darlington, Fred Windle, James D. McClellan Ruth, L. H. Shields, Houghton Kervey, Frank Arnold, Francis M. Dowlin, Emlen T. Darlington, Havard S. Loomis, Isabel Vedder Clark, Frances Helen Walter, Lizzie M. Welsh, Arthur E. Willauer, Mary Manning, Nettie Lewis, Emily Locke Hoskins, Chas. Williamson, Carrie M. Sweney, Mabel Chase Taylor, Willis Howard Whisler, George J. Moses, Bessie H. Spence, Norma A. Underwood, Adelaide Underwood, Ethel Chambers, George H.

*Children's names, if received in time, will appear at end of list.

Rupert, Matthias F. McLear, Maria Brock. James P. Long, janitor. *Grammar*, Harriet D. Sahler, Delia L. Meader, Samaria A. Eldredge, Anna R. Richter, Anna M. Dale, Louisa Stradling, teachers: Mary L. Heed, Edith J. Hickman, Anna J. Talbot, J. Gilbert Scott, Ethel M. Walker, Helen M. Chambers, Clara E. Bailey, Florence E. Palmer, Anna B. Maule, Jessie Webb, Mary Hickey, George E. Kane, Jr., Gertrude Hayes, Wellington Woodward, Sara Walter, Annis Griffith, Laura M. Jefferis, Cidney E. Townsend, Agnes C. Hickey, Fred W. Heed, Jr., William L. Kane, John J. Hall, Charles P. Gray, Bertha M. Urmey, Arthur R. Webb, Emma M. Lear, Agnes Thompson, Mattie B. Young, Levi McC. Foster, Roberta Laird, William W. Hoopes, Lizzie Dilworth, Sadie B. Reagan, Alice C. Dowlin, Granville T. Mitchell, Wm. Howard, Mary E. McClenaghan, Albert Humpton, W. J. McNamee, Thomas F. Manning, Auta G. Griffith, Jefferis Ingram, Sandford H. Senger, Ambrose Taylor, John R. Hoskins, Carrie S. Moses, Eber E. Baker, Harry F. Peirce, Jr., Norman Fitzsimmons, Lillie M. Still, Thomas D. Cope, Susie Bowers, Josephine H. Willauer, Ethol Rupert, Ethel V. Ash, Florence L. Crowe, Lizzie H. Bailey, Etta Underwood, Bessie A. Brinton, Bayard Sharpe, James Few, Rutherford B. Hayes Smith, George J. Baxter, Edwin Brooke Bateman, Mary J. Hall, Anna B. Hoskins, F. Maude Granger, Bentley W. Foster, Granville F. Pratt, Marguerite M. Beatty, Sadie Sweney, Ida Smith, Hanna Parker, Sallie Smiley, Hewson Canning, Maidie S. Brinton, Warren Mitchell, Archie G. Kift, Louella H. Eisenbeis, Blanche Cloud, J. Helen M. Thatcher, Mary K. Jackson, Jennie Rupert, Agnes M. Jones, Mary Kilpatrick, Thorndyke Harvey, Fannie D. Rigg, Atwood Himelright, Adeline Johnson, Mabel Mullin, May Wallace, Jennie Hummel, Phebe Jane Gheen, Bennie F. Passmore. *Intermediate*, Anna M. McLear, Emma D. Lippincott, Ida B. Brooke, Fannie C. Watson, C. Annie Adams, teachers: Maggie E. Himelright, Mabel S. Ridgley, Edgar L. Bailey, Ida E. Crowe, Estella A. Clark, Jennie T. Mason, Annie B. Siddall, Anna M. Young, Maggie T. Schmidt, Helen R. Frame, Fred. Veit, Arthur E. Maule, Harry E. Biehn, Walter C. Munshower, Frank Davis, Ellen B. Lewis, Marion Smith, Irwin W. Reagan, Jesse Dilworth, Laurence W. Hannum, Fred. W. Mayer, Thomas J. Hall, Annie D. Speakman, Ethel B. Speakman, Jennie Urmey, Lizzie Kane, Willie Veit, Howard I. Matlack, Herman Reeves, Eva Keener, Reba Morrison, Tony Musante, Harry Schmidt, Howard Johnson, Lewis Woodward, Elsie M. Smith, Clarence King, Robert G. Simons, Paul Kane, Rose Hayden, Edgar E. Long, Norman M. Seeds, Florence Wilkinson King, Hettie May Dilworth, Thomas L. Hoskins, Herman F. Davis, Mabel Clark, Charlie P. Rigg, Albert G. Hall, George J. Baily, Edward Matson, Jr., John R. Townsend, Hillary Fox, Jr., Norman Broomall, Jr., Minna C. Mattson, Minnie M. Mayer, Elsie M. Baldwin, Bertha E. Thorp, Benjamin Walker, Bessie L. Cooper, G. C. Marsh, Walter W. Wells, Frances E. Monaghan, Clara M. Black, Mary McFarlan, Edna Highley, Mary Vandever, Elma Lear, Edgar Eachus, Ada Simons, Layton Underwood, Charlotte

B. Darlington, Orma Fitzsimmons, Ethel M. Sharpless, Bertha C. Peirce, Katie Kane, Ola H. Hoopes, Raymond Henry, Allan B. Smedley, Isaac G. Darlington, Agnes R. Swift, Benj. F. Bond, Annie E. Knox, Francis Findlay, Minnie Wynn, F. Brinton Strode, Maud V. Speakman, Alice R. Kline, Florence Travilla, Francis R. Bobb, Charles H. Campbell, J. Rupert McCowan, Sallie S. Vandever, Maggie Hallowell, Annie Wray. *Primary*, Emma S. Marshall, Clara J. Shepherd, Maipa F. Worrall, substitute for Maggie E. Speakman, Elizabeth R. Sharpless, Mary H. Smedley, Jesse R. Keech, teachers: George K. Strode, Vella L. Smith, Ethel M. Durnall, Edward F. Thompson, Norman H. Hoopes, Bessie T. Manley, Willie McClenaghan, Mabel Thorp, Ernest Bates, Nellie S. Johnson, Elvira M. King, Renwick S. Laird, Margaret S. Bond, May Still, Henry L. Hayden, Ernest Bates, Lena S. Kofke, Clara B. Schmidt, Martha Ingram, Charles H. Bender, Bessie H. Knight, Horace T. Webb, Florence Thorp, Clara Hickman, Ethel I. Bidden, Harry E. Broomall, Percy B. Ostrom, Hattie G. Ramsey, Jeannette Lear, Lizzie S. Davis, John Veit, Harry A. Musser, Frank Heald, Cloyde Roecker, Leon C. Kane, Willie A. Miller, Anita Fitzsimmons, Brooke W. Miller, William S. Wethearl, Harold McCowan, Edith M. Siddall, Paul Hennessey, Lillie B. King, Edwin A. Chambers, Ernest C. Wilson, Edward Hayes, Jennie E. Darlington, Willie L. Downing, Ellwood E. Gray, Willie J. Knox, Florence J. Hoopes, William Dowlin, Norman S. Darlington, Edward P. Pyle, Frank B. Shaner, May H. Ennis, James H. Ennis, Beatrice M. Everlof, Anna N. Taylor, Ellen Wray, Anna Snare, Edward M. Miller, Reba M. Shaw, May Bell McDonald, Clara Hansell, Frank H. Smith, Ralph Bates, George Knox, Viola Senger, Eva B. Munshower, Mary E. Smiley, J. Weldon Brinton, Jay H. Jefferis, Bennie Wilbeck, Harry E. Brown, Edith M. Broomall, Ivison Guthrie, Charles A. Wilson, Mabel S. Farra, Ruth Hoopes, Ida Sachs, Chester P. Lewis, James Russell, Mabel H. McKissick, Ethel M. Miller, Charlotte Manley, Charles Bond, Edith D. Brinton, Clarence J. Sharpless, Elsie H. Vance, Frederick A. Broomell, Mary Osborne, John R. Huston, Maurice Hennessey, Ida D. Strode, Harry J. Swift, A. Bushong Brooke, Lillie Davis, J. Benson Darlington, William P. Siddall, Helen B. Durnall, Lewis Powell, Ralph Kane, George F. Baldwin, R. Jennie Abel, Ada Brewster, Lindley G. Schmidt, Vera A. Snare, Mary L. Griffith, Clifford Fisher, Lena Hayes, Lillie D. Tompkins, Lewis Archer, Eha E. Sharpless, Lewis Smith, Chester Findlay, Della May Nutt, Frank Cooper, Jesse Steward, May Harp, John McDonald, Aubrey Smith, Della Young, Harry Simons, Arthur Fowler, Deborah Rodgers, Edna Shaner, Jean Speakman, Helen E. Clark, Herbert Bender. *Adams Street*, Preston Eves, principal. *Intermediate*, May DeL. Morrison, Adelaide H. Woodward, teachers: Lottie Wilson, Joseph C. Smith, Elwood Goven, Isaac W. Bye, C. E. Whittaker, Annie M. Streets, Cecelia Allison, Oscar Anderson, Mabel S. Gladman, Malinda Derry, Rachel N. Johnson, Eva Genlob, Anna Proctor, Mary L. Walker, Theodore Derry, Maud Smith, Addie Smith, Gertrude M. Whitaker, Ethel Patterson, Clyde Baptit, Maud Johnson, Florence Ramsey, Gertrude Gibbs, Melvina Ramsey, Mabel Allison, Archie

Gladman. *Primary*, Annie E. Woodward, Laura M. Smith, Clara M. Ehni, teachers: Elsie May Clarkson, Charles Stephenson, Willie Morris, Alice Wheaton, May Dogans, Willie Derry, George L. Fry, Jr., Mary Brown, Willie Luff, Bertha West, Rachel Gibbs, George Goodwin, Mabel Derry, Ora Whittaker, Ada Smith, Joe Curry, Bella Warnick, Walter Durnall, Herbert Ray, Willie Allison, George Boyer, Harry Durnall, Howard Clarkson, Charlie Elbert, Archie Hopkins, Eva Francis, Daniel Young, Florence Lowax, Elsie Jones, Sadie Smith, Johanna Watkins, Alban Warnic, Susie Costley, Anna Curry, Ammarilla Brown, Viola Gibbs, John McKinney, Mabel McKinney, Matilda Brown, Alphonso Reed, Herman Massey, George Reed, Charles Raymond, Helen Boyd, Henrietta Jones, Naomi Goines, Joseph Johnson. $28.61.

West Chester Friends, Henry Arnold Todd, principal, Clara B. James, Eleanor Walsh Sharpless, assistants: *High School:* Horace F. Taylor, George K. Goldschmidt, Smedley D. Butler, W. Hunter Little, Edmund A. Harvey, Paul Darlington, Marian Reid, Catharine Needles, May Byers, Edith S. Paschall, Bertha A. Marshall, Viola Martin, Lillian H. Baily, Jessie Darlington, Alice M. Reid, Anna M. Grubb, Oliver J. Templeton. *Primary:* Florence J. Monaghan, Gertrude Monaghan, Edwin P. Darlington, Cheston L. Darlington, Mazie M. Hurst, Samuel Butler, C. Marshall Taylor, J. Hastings Thomas, Percy Marion Hoopes, James Freddie Reid, Eleanor S. Sharples, Roger Linton, Herman Baker, Jesse J. Taylor. $5.00.

West Chester State Normal School. Faculty: Geo. Morris Philips, David M. Sensenig, Annie M. Sensenig, Andrew Thos. Smith, Wallace P. Dick, Elvira Y. Speakman, Clyde E. Ehinger, Ella M. Ehinger, Marie Louise Baright, Frank C. Rex, Sara S. Kirk, Robert Anderson, Lydia A. Martin, Elizabeth B. Birchard, Anna P. Esler, Esther M. Groome, O. D. Frederick, Elizabeth F. Criley, William S. Delp, Ella S. Weinberger, James Struthers Heberling, E. Stanton Yoder. *Students:* (A)Ella Z. Anders, Annie J. Allebach, (B) Wallace Bartholomew, Henry M. Bechtel, Howard M. Bartlett, Florence R. Brosius, Edgar Butler, Eugene Buckman, Lillie Brown, Mary H. Baker, Miriam S. Brunner, Hanna J. Bready, Dorothy E. Buck, Ella Bennett, Edith M. Byerts, May K. Biggins, Lidie Butler, Gertrude Baker, Maude Baker, Susie C. Byler, Nellie Betts, Jessie A. Burk, Martha Blair, Lizzie Blair, (C) Katie B. Casey, Lizzie W. Crossan, Louise A. Cather, Ada Criswell, Ella C. Cornell, Annie C. Clauder, Emma T. Comly, Mary F. Cronin, Mabel Raymond Cheyney, Nellie C. Carlin, Thos. D. Cope, Percy S. Conner, Eli P. Comley, Flora M. Clymer, Herman Cuadra, Ellene Currie, (D) Mabel Dudley, Iona B. Dysart, Jno. Douglas, Ethel M. Davie, Unity R. Dannaker, Walter Dengler, Ruth Y. Davis, Sallie L. Deakyne, Lettie W. Duer, (E) Hannah D. Esrey, Lulu M. Eachus, Chas. V. R. Evans, John P. Evans, Wm. P. England, Ellis Eshleman, Margaret Ellis, (F) Liela M. Fronefield, Mae Finley, James H. Field, Anna E. Fetters, Geo. E. Fetters, William G. Fegan, Noah M. Frantz, Marguerite Farrell, George E. Fleisher, (G) Julia D. Gyger, Raymond Greene, Perry H. Godshall, Walter E. Greenwood, Henry C. Groff, Samuel M. Greenwood, Clifford Garrett, Florence I. Griffith, A.

Benson Grove, Cora F. Greene, Helen Garrett, Bessie B. Godfrey, Jessie V. Gunkle, Bertha I. Grater, Lizzie Gray, Eliza H. Griffith, Anna M. Green, (H) Margaret L. Hilton, Bessie Hamilton, Daisy Houck, Mabel Hellyer, Elsie Hambleton, Elizabeth Harry, Clara Hoopes, Abbie Heald, Maud Hibberd, Isaac P. Hoopes, William Hemphill, Howard E. Heckler, Simon G. Huber, C. Vincent Hart, J. M. Hartman, E. A. Heilman, Mary A. Harvey, Olive M. Hibbs, Rebecca M. Heaton, Bertha V. Hetherington, Katharine Humphrey, Mabel E. Houseal, Frank Hornberger, Wallace D. Heaton, Paul Huber, Jno. B. Hoffman, (I) Sara Ingram, (J) Lizzie Jones, Madge Johnson, Gertrude Johnson, Hanna N. Johnson, Elsie M. Johnson, Minnie M. Jones, Ethel R. John, Katharine James, Gertrude S. Johnson, Martha Jones, Mary N. James, (K) Laura E. Koons, Clara Keighley, Laura Keighley, Harry A. Kotz, Joseph F. Kirkpatrick, Sarah Kerr, Annie Klink, Lizzie J. Kershner, (L) Eva Janet LeFevre, Anna Leatherman, Etta N. Lapp, Leon C. Lapp, Sharpless H. Lewis, Harrison S. Lucas, S. Wills Lusby, H. G. Landis, Mary E. Leahy, Sallie G. Liggett, Aurelian E. Leffler, Flora B. Lahr, (M) Jennie MacDonald, Adele Moyer, Annie O. Moyer, Lizzie Marshall, Carrie Marshall, Ada Mahood, Iva C. Mearns, Alice Moore, Bessie Mattern, Lillian Moore, Bessie M. Mast, Gertrude McKinstry, Margaret McKee, Blanche Mackelduff, Mary Marshall, Ellis McClure, Orin R. Miller, Robert F. Mancill, Edgar H. Moore, Cannie R. Miller, H. Arthur Mitchell, Dwight C. Martin, H. Watson Myers, Wilson R. Moyer, Ira D. McCord, Charles Madeira, (N) Ida E. Neidig, (P) Wm. P. Philips, Sara Philips, Nellie E. Pretty, Santiago Pi, Robert Potts, Anna W. Pusey, S. Alverta Pechin, Ann W. Pechin, Elizabeth M. Powell, Mary Aubrey Powell, Anna R. Pearson, Mabel D. Pearson, William S. Pike, Bertha M. Pyle, Lucille Preston, Bertha M. Paul, (R) Nona S. Reid, Mary S. Rittenhouse, Abby C. Rowe, Jennie B. Roper, Nora B. Rigg, Irene Reagan, Esther Raysor, Arthur P. Reid, Raymond S. Rogers, Warren D. Renninger, Leonard M. Ruth, Anna D. Rogers, Hubert S. Riley, Norman H. Rahn, S. M. Rosenberger, (S) John S. Stettler, Edgar H. Sensenich, Rose E. Swartley, Harold E. Smith, Warren H. Stover, Arturo Solorzano, Christopher S. Sterner, Ira Sterner, J. Monroe Smith, Heber Sensenig, H. Lindsay Sproat, H. Elric Sproat, Tessie Shearer, Carrie Seibert, Mary E. Snyder, Mattie Smedley, Susie L. Search, Lillie M. Saeger, Sarah Sharpless, Elsie Singmaster, Effie E. Seavey, M. Virginia Strode, Mattie Sensenig, Addie G. Shaddinger, Laura E. Swartz, Emma L. Supplee, Clara E. Sittler, Mabel Stevens, Blanche Sheibley, Florence Smith, (T) Flora B. Turner, Mary H. Taylor, Margaret H. Taylor, Ada R. Taylor, Florence Talley, Morgan Thomas, Wm. H. Taylor, (U) Jean B. Urner, (W) Allen Willits, J. Harry Wright, Clara Wack, Lillie M. Wanner, Jean Wallace, Meta Worthington, Geo. E. Ward, R. Stewart Wendell, Amasa L. Worthington, Geo. J. Wendel, Geo. S. Williamson, Harry Williams, Claudia Wilbur, Mabel Woodward, Della Williams, Mary E. Wood, Antoinette Wintzer, Edith Webster, Maude Wetherill, Mary E. Williams, Margaret A. Williams, Anna Woodward, Katherine Wagner, Etta Williams, (Y) Anna Yardley,

Mary L. Yarnall, Georgie K. Yeakel, Ralph A. Yost, Mary R. Yerkes, (Z) Pedro Zayas. $35.00.

Windyknowe. Marguerite G. Townsend, principal, Harriett E. Townsend and Mary E. Cornwell, assistants: Ada C. Williamson, Caroline R. D. Baird, Charlotte M. Windle, Emily H. Montgomery, Florence Gheen, Frances P. Massey, Grace H. Darlington, Kate S. Barber, Louise A. Barber, Letitia B. Windle, Rachel M. Dunn, Sarah M. Brinton, Elizabeth M. Rothrock. $4.00.

Dr. L. B. Henson, Coatesville, $2.00.

KEY TO MAP ON OPPOSITE PAGE.

The following references to the positions of the British columns, etc., are taken from a British map published in 1778, and republished in 1846, with additions and alterations, by the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The accompanying map has further alterations, corrections and additions.

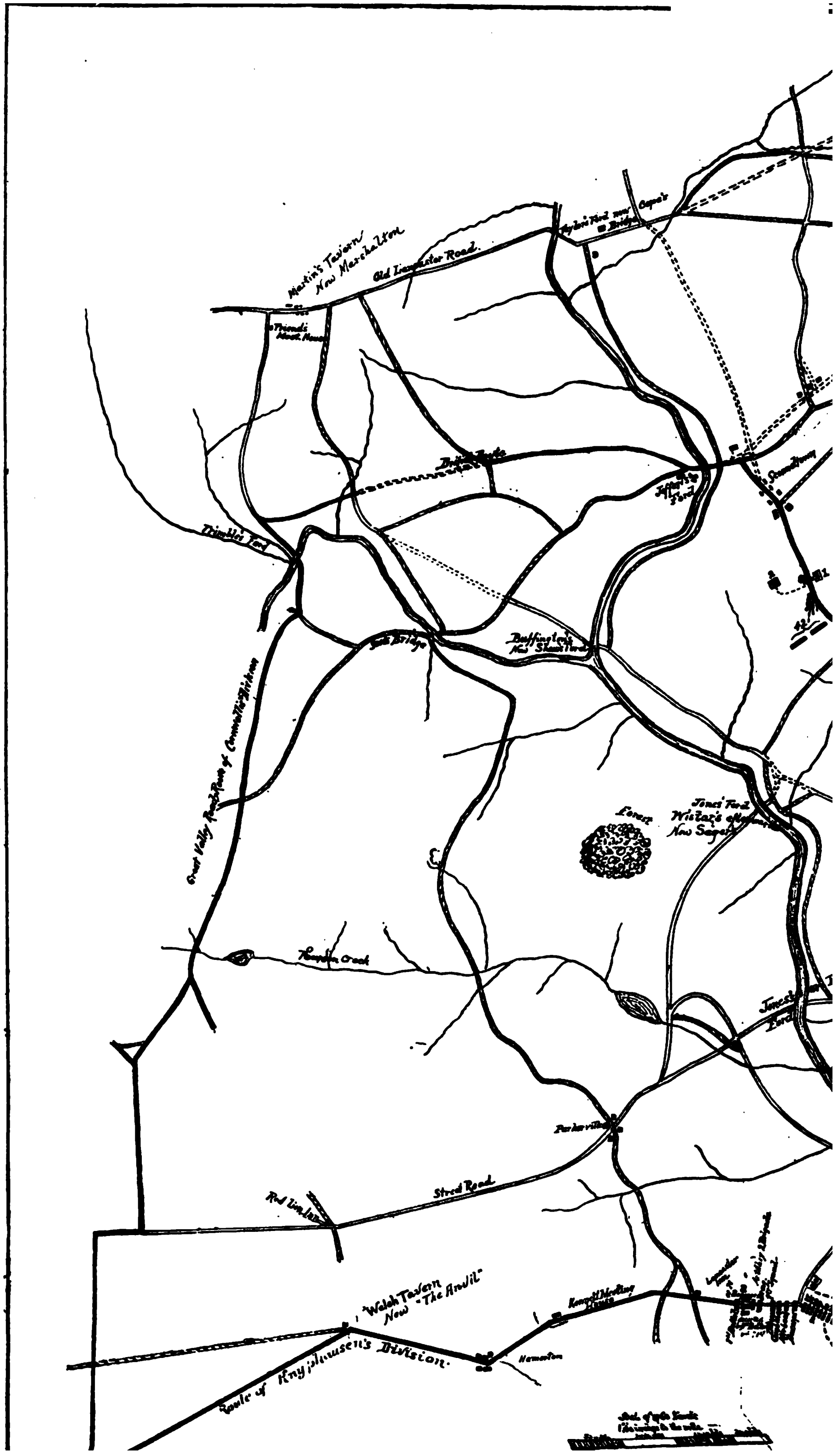
References to column under Cornwallis: (AA) Column after having crossed the Brandywine at 2 o'clock p. m. (BB) Third brigade, not brought into action, but kept in reserve in rear of fourth brigade. (C) Two squadrons of dragoons, not employed. (D) Light infantry and chasseurs beginning attack. (EE) Attack of guards and Hessians, who forced the Americans on the first onset. (F) Part of the American right forced by the 2nd light infantry and chasseurs. (GG) First British grenadiers, Hessian grenadiers and the guards entangled in woods. (HHH) March of 2nd light infantry and grenadiers and 4th brigade beyond Dilworthtown, where they dislodged a corps of Americans strongly posted. (II) Ravine in which Greene covered the retreat. (J) Wistar's (?) Woods.

References to column under Knyphausen: (aa) Column in march at 9 in the morning, his van having driven back American detachments which attempted to defend defiles from Welch's tavern to heights of Chadd's Ford. (bb) Heights and woods occupied by Americans. (c) Small fleche raised by Americans. (d) British riflemen posted behind house and supported by 100 men of Gen. Stirn's brigade. (e) Queen's rangers pursuing Americans dislodged from woods (f). (g) Four pieces of cannon, with 49th regiment, to support attack of advanced troops, and 28th regiment who crossed valley (h) to get to heights (i) which Americans abandoned at their approach as well as the fleche "c." (k) March of the troops to take the position "n," which was done under fire of cannon in (l), and under that of Americans in (mm). (nn) Position of column from 10.30 A. M. to 4 P. M., when Gen. Howe made his attack. Position of Americans was then (oooo). (p) March of troops to ford under fire of cannon "g." The Americans fired from their batteries "mm." (r) Ford where troops crossed creek and charged the Americans, who at first opposed them with some resolution, but soon gave way. Riflemen and Queen's rangers, with 71st, 4th and 5th followed by all the British regiments and by Gen. Stirn's brigade, forced the Americans to abandon their batteries "mm," and after some resistance near the houses (ss), to retire at (tt), from which position they fired upon the troops with four pieces of cannon. The Americans afterwards retreated to Chester; the night favored their escape and saved them from pursuit. Knyphausen's column, having joined Howe, remained in the position (uu).

References showing names of houses in vicinity of battle at that time, and names of present owners (1896): (1) George Strode's, subsequently Philip Price's, now estate of Philip Paxson. (2) —— ——, afterward Dr. A. L. Elwyn's, now John Mitchell's. (3) Richard Strode's, the portion now remaining now A. Darlington Strode's. (4) Widow Susannah Davis's, not standing, the house built upon its site now Thos. Sharpless's. (5) Mary, widow of John Davis, once Amos Davis's, not standing. (6) Mary, widow of James Davis, once Daniel Davis's, modernized and now Samuel Boyd's. (7) William Jones's, now William Jones's. (8) Isaac Davis's, afterward Abraham Darlington's, now property of John Noble. (9) John Woodward's, not standing, new house now Minshall Sharpless's. (10) Richard Eavenson's, now Joseph H. Brinton's. (11) House believed to have been occupied by J. Bolton, not standing. (12) Isaac Garrett's, not standing. (13) Abraham Darlington's, now Francis C. Biddle's. (14) John Bennett's, not standing, now Henry Bennett's. (15) Edward Brinton's, afterward Edward B. Darlington's, now Samuel P. Marshall's. (16) Geo. Brinton's, afterward Ziba Darlington's, now Henry Faucett's. (17) William Thatcher's, now Howard Thatcher's. (18) Israel Gilpin's, Howe's headquarters, now estate of Elias Baker, late of Media, deceased. (19) John Henderson's, not standing, another house built on or near the spot, now Crosby Fairlamb's. (20) Samuel Painter's, now property of Jos. Turner. (21) Gideon Gilpin's, *Lafayette's Headquarters*, now property of Joseph Turner. (22) Benj. Ring's, Washington's Headquarters, now Eli Harvey's. (23) Wm. Harvey's, not standing. (24) Davis's Tavern, modernized. (25) Chads's house. (26) Amos House's, not standing. (27) Geo. Martin's, now Pennock Illiamson's. (28) Blacksmith shop, not standing.

** Pits in which soldiers were buried.

†† Artillery.


Martin's Tavern
Now Marshallton
Old Lancaster Road.
Friends Meet. House
Trimbles Ford
Jefferis Ford
Buffington's
Now Shaw's Ford
Great Valley Road & Route of Cornwallis' Division
Forest
Jones' Ford
Wistar's
Now Sager
Parkerville
Street Road
Red Lion
"Welch Tavern
Now "The Anvil"
Route of Knyphausen's Division
Hamorton

Mary L. Yarnall, Georgie K. Yeakel, Ralph A. Yost, Mary R. Yerkes, (Z) Pedro Zayas. $35.00.

Windyknowe. Marguerite G. Townsend, principal, Harriett E. Townsend and Mary E. Cornwell, assistants: Ada C. Williamson, Caroline R. D. Baird, Charlotte M. Windle, Emily H. Montgomery, Florence Gheen, Frances P. Massey, Grace H. Darlington, Kate S. Barber, Louise A. Barber, Letitia B. Windle, Rachel M. Dunn, Sarah M. Brinton, Elizabeth M. Rothrock. $4.00.

Dr. L. B. Henson, Coatesville, $2.00.

KEY TO MAP ON OPPOSITE PAGE.

The following references to the positions of the British columns, etc., are taken from a British map published in 1778, and republished in 1846, with additions and alterations, by the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The accompanying map has further alterations, corrections and additions.

References to column under Cornwallis: (AA) Column after having crossed the Brandywine at 2 o'clock p. m. (BB) Third brigade, not brought into action, but kept in reserve in rear of fourth brigade. (C) Two squadrons of dragoons, not employed. (D) Light infantry and chasseurs beginning attack. (EE) Attack of guards and Hessians, who forced the Americans on the first onset. (F) Part of the American right forced by the 2nd light infantry and chasseurs. (GG) First British grenadiers, Hessian grenadiers and the guards entangled in woods. (HHH) March of 2nd light infantry and grenadiers and 4th brigade beyond Dilworthtown, where they dislodged a corps of Americans strongly posted. (II) Ravine in which Greene covered the retreat. (J) Wistar's (?) Woods.

References to column under Knyphausen: (aa) Column in march at 9 in the morning, his van having driven back American detachments which attempted to defend defiles from Welch's tavern to heights of Chadd's Ford. (bb) Heights and woods occupied by Americans. (c) Small fleche raised by Americans. (d) British riflemen posted behind house and supported by 100 men of Gen. Stirn's brigade. (e) Queen's rangers pursuing Americans dislodged from woods (f). (g) Four pieces of cannon, with 49th regiment, to support attack of advanced troops, and 28th regiment who crossed valley (h) to get to heights (i) which Americans abandoned at their approach as well as the fleche "c." (k) March of the troops to take the position "n," which was done under fire of cannon in (l), and under that of Americans in (mm). (nn) Position of column from 10.30 A. M. to 4 P. M., when Gen. Howe made his attack. Position of Americans was then (oooo). (p) March of troops to ford under fire of cannon "g." The Americans fired from their batteries "mm." (r) Ford where troops crossed creek and charged the Americans, who at first opposed them with some resolution, but soon gave way. Riflemen and Queen's rangers, with 71st, 4th and 5th followed by all the British regiments and by Gen. Stirn's brigade, forced the Americans to abandon their batteries "mm," and after some resistance near the houses (ss), to retire at (tt), from which position they fired upon the troops with four pieces of cannon. The Americans afterwards retreated to Chester; the night favored their escape and saved them from pursuit. Knyphausen's column, having joined Howe, remained in the position (uu).

References showing names of houses in vicinity of battle at that time, and names of present owners (1896): (1) George Strode's, subsequently Philip Price's, now estate of Philip Paxson. (2) —— ——, afterward Dr. A. L. Elwyn's, now John Mitchell's. (3) Richard Strode's, the portion now remaining now A. Darlington Strode's. (4) Widow Susannah Davis's, not standing, the house built upon its site now Thos. Sharpless's. (5) Mary, widow of John Davis, once Amos Davis's, not standing. (6) Mary, widow of James Davis, once Daniel Davis's, modernized and now Samuel Boyd's. (7) William Jones's, now William Jones's. (8) Isaac Davis's, afterward Abraham Darlington's, now property of John Noble. (9) John Woodward's, not standing, new house now Minshall Sharpless's. (10) Richard Eavenson's, now Joseph H. Brinton's. (11) House believed to have been occupied by J. Bolton, not standing. (12) Isaac Garrett's, not standing. (13) Abraham Darlington's, now Francis C. Biddle's. (14) John Bennett's, not standing, now Henry Bennett's. (15) Edward Brinton's, afterward Edward B. Darlington's, now Samuel P. Marshall's. (16) Geo. Brinton's, afterward Ziba Darlington's, now Henry Faucett's. (17) William Thatcher's, now Howard Thatcher's. (18) Israel Gilpin's, Howe's headquarters, now estate of Elias Baker, late of Media, deceased. (19) John Henderson's, not standing, another house built on or near the spot, now Crosby Fairlamb's. (20) Samuel Painter's, now property of Jos. Turner. (21) Gideon Gilpin's, *Lafayette's Headquarters*, now property of Joseph Turner. (22) Benj. Ring's, Washington's Headquarters, now Eli Harvey's. (23) Wm. Harvey's, not standing. (24) Davis's Tavern, modernized. (25) Chads's house. (26) Amos House's, not standing. (27) Geo. Martin's, now Pennock Williamson's. (28) Blacksmith shop, not standing.

** Pits in which soldiers were buried.

†† Artillery.